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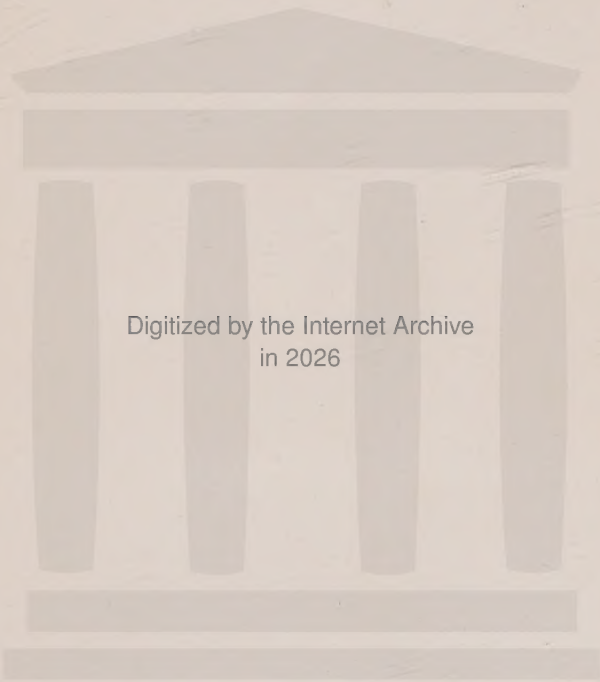

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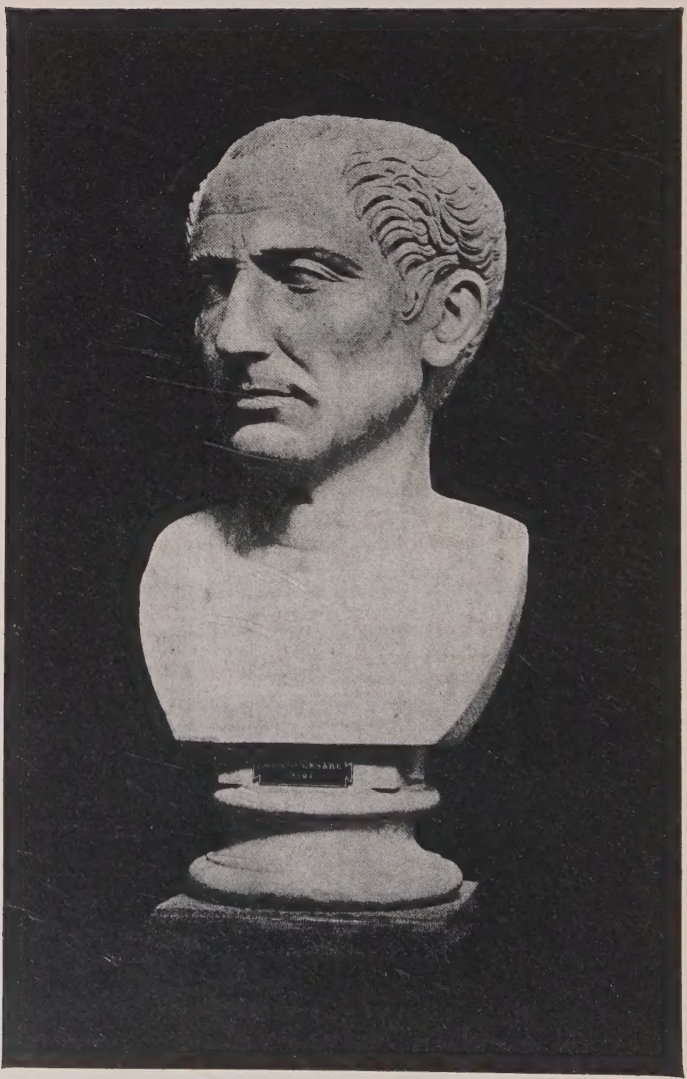

JULIUS CAESAR. The Naples bust.

ALLYN AND BACON'S SERIES OF SCHOOL HISTORIES

CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, General Editor

ANCIENT HISTORY

TO THE DEATH OF CHARLEMAGNE

BY

WILLIS MASON WEST

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

9930

Boston

ALLYN AND BACON

1902

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PREFACE.

The study of history in secondary schools offers many problems. Foremost in demanding decision stands always the question of the proper distribution of time. The old one-year course in universal history is confessedly inadequate, unattractive, and destitute of disciplinary value. No possible series of courses on single countries can be sufficiently comprehensive. Some compromise is inevitable.

The most promising plan yet proposed is the one outlined in the memorable Report of the Committee of Seven to the National Historical Association in 1899.[1] In accordance with that plan, the series of school histories of which this book is the first will give two volumes to a general survey of the world's history. The present volume deals with the early development of those historic elements whose interworkings have since produced our modern world. As is explained more fully in the opening pages of the text, it deals with those Oriental peoples who were to contribute directly to European civilization, and, more in detail, with Greeks, Romans, and Teutons, whose life in each case was to be taken up, almost as a whole, into our modern life; and the story is traced until these formative elements have been brought together and until their fusion is well under way in the empire of Charlemagne. A second book will treat the subsequent working of these forces in "Modern History." The present volume, however, may be followed instead by the study of England, France, or Germany, or by intensive topic study; it is designed for the first year's work in history in high schools, but, by expanding or contracting the suggestions for topical reports and for library work, it may be adapted to older or younger students and to courses of varying length.

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[1] *The Study of History in Schools*, The Macmillan Co., $0.50.

In selecting subject-matter within the wide limits of "Ancient History," I have desired especially to emphasize the unity in historical development and to bring out the value of the past in explaining the present. The expansion of civilized life is followed from the early patches in the Nile and Euphrates valleys, first over Western Asia, then around the Mediterranean coasts, and, finally, into the British Isles and the German forests; and at each new advance an attempt is made to show something of the reaction of the environment upon the older germs.

To do these things effectively calls for rigid economy in the use of space. Two particulars may be mentioned: —

a. Wars receive little attention. Military history is valuable, no doubt, if one really studies strategy; but compromises that tell the story and leave out the strategy are not valuable as history, whatever they may be as literature. Of course, "civilization has come riding on a gun-carriage;" but this truth can be taught better by compact treatments of conditions preceding a war and of the results that followed it, than by lengthy, but necessarily imperfect or misleading, stories of battles and sieges. This sentiment may have a familiar sound, but its radical application in this volume justifies its repetition. Thus, twenty-eight pages are given to the Athenian Empire and less than four to the Peloponnesian War, — these four, too, mainly to the internal revolution in Athens; two pages contain Alexander's wars, while five are given to his constructive work and twenty more to the results in the widespread Hellenic civilization that followed; and of the fourteen pages allotted to Caesar, two suffice for his campaigns.

b. Critics have long regretted that our school courses dwell upon the legendary or romantic early periods of Greek and Roman life to the strange neglect of the later periods, more complex, but so much richer in historical teaching. More important than the semibarbarous Spartan camp is the great Hellenic world after Alexander, with its suggestive experiments in federal government and with its political and social

conditions so like the modern world; more valuable even than the ill-understood quarrels between plebeians and patricians is the Roman imperial world, on which later European life is so directly based. I have intended the present volume to do somewhat toward remedying this neglect, especially in the case of the Roman Empire. Here, too, a space-saving device has been adopted. A fundamental difficulty has always been the many imperial reigns with the wearisome repetition of like details. This volume groups the outlines of the reigns, by periods, into some four pages of tables, for reference, and so secures ninety pages for topical treatment of organic movements and of the growth of institutions. As a rule, the emperor's individuality was but a trifling factor in determining the trend of development in the complex society of which he was a part; and it is manifestly unwise to sacrifice a simple and logical arrangement for an arbitrary and confusing one, depending upon accidents to single lives.

On the other hand, the biographical element is sometimes an essential part of historical explanation, and, with right, it is attractive to students. Even a book of this kind permits and demands a few individual portraits; and I have hoped, in particular, to give a vivid impression of the personality, as well as the work, of Themistocles, Pericles, Socrates, Epaminondas, Philip, Alexander, the Gracchi brothers, Sulla, Caesar, Augustus, Constantine, Theodoric, Clovis, and Charlemagne.

A text-book in history for high schools should assist the teacher in securing that training which history alone in the high school curriculum can give. I trust that my several years' experience in teaching the subject in high schools has not been without profit here. Attention is called to a few features in which this volume is designed to be helpful.

a. It aims to help teach the use of a library, by giving specific references upon many topics, and by naming many topics to be looked up from more general references. The teacher,

of course, will modify or extend topics and references at will, but to leave him to do all work of this kind is to throw unreasonable burden upon him and to compel neglect. The many quotations woven into the text ought also to be made a means of introducing students to standard books. In the reference lists "for advanced students" the needs of teachers also have been kept in mind. The text omits all the stock anecdotes; they are easily found, and they come with more effect from the teacher or from students to whom they may be especially assigned for reports. More books are sometimes referred to, especially in the general lists at the close of chapters, than any one school library will contain, but every library should have some of those mentioned on each topic. Books are often indicated by abbreviated titles or by the author's name; in any case of uncertainty, the full title can be found easily in the classified bibliography in the Appendix. This bibliography itself, with its prices and especially with its dates, will be, I hope, not without use.

b. The Table of Contents gives a minute analysis down to the content of each paragraph in the book. More important still, it shows, by its tabular form, the logical relation of the paragraphs within each larger subdivision and the relations of these larger units to each other. This feature, I think, is somewhat unique. To keep the analysis clear compelled a strictly logical order in writing the book. Whether this scientific arrangement has been secured at the cost of other merits the public must decide; but secured, I think, it unquestionably has been. The syllabus, therefore, should be used constantly both in advance and review.

c. Various forms of review exercises are suggested at appropriate points (see pages 75, 127–128, 198, 245–246, 371, and 457); but the value of the Index for review deserves special notice. As the Syllabic Table of Contents gives a bird's-eye view of a period, so the Index affords direction for cross review. A number of the topics most important for such study are indicated in the Index by black italic type. The

many cross references in the text should be helpful in a like manner.

d. Brief suggestions for map study are given in one instance in the text (page 76), but of course every map should be the occasion of some study in class. In particular, a series of progressive maps like the last eight or nine, showing the civilized world at short intervals of time, affords material for comparison and discussion that should not be neglected. The book is unusually rich in maps for the confused period from 400 to 800 A.D., when the face of Europe was changing so rapidly, and when the germs of modern nations were beginning to take form.

To enumerate authorities for the treatment of so many periods and countries would be perhaps graceful in the author, but wearisome to the reader. In general, the views presented are strictly orthodox. The question of "race" belongs not to history, nor to philology, but to ethnology; and in conformity to the verdict of its proper science, the Aryan race superstition is discarded. On the vexed problem of Roman patricians and plebeians, I follow the usually accepted and better established theory, rather than a recent one which would make the patricians simply the chiefs of plebeian tribesmen. The new idea has the merit of simplicity, but it is based apparently upon that ignorance which the unscientific Roman historians always displayed on all difficulties about their early history; and, despite some vehement criticism, the other theory not only has the support of the greatest names in Germany and England, but it is also in accord with what the comparative study of primitive societies makes probable. On the other hand, the older view of early Greek civilization, by universal consent, needs restatement, though that statement, perhaps, has not yet been found. I have preferred, therefore, to use, in some measure, Professor Ridgeway's theories, recent as they are, rather than solemnly to repeat an undoubted error.

It is inevitable, of course, in a book of this kind, that cleri-

cal errors and more serious ones should have slipped in; I shall be grateful to teachers or readers who will call my attention to any of them.

It remains for me to express my obligation to friends who have helped in the preparation of the volume. Dr. Charles Kendall Adams, the editor of the series, so long and widely known as an eminent historical teacher and writer, read the manuscript, and I owe much to his searching comment and kindly encouragement. The ill health which has compelled his lamented withdrawal from the presidency of the University of Wisconsin has of course made it impossible for him to give the proofs the critical attention they would otherwise have received from him, but here too he has offered valuable suggestion. Dr. John E. Granrud, of the department of Latin in the University of Minnesota, whose excellent *Roman Constitutional History* has just appeared, read critically the proofs for the Roman period; Professor John Sinclair Clark, head of the Latin department, read part of the same period; and Professors Frank M. Anderson and Albert B. White, colleagues in my own department, have read the proofs for the Roman imperial and the Teutonic periods. I desire to record my sincere gratitude to all these gentlemen for many suggestions, and, at the same time, to absolve them from responsibility for errors I may have retained. I am under particular obligation to my wife, Elizabeth Beach West, who read the manuscript, as it progressed, with constant and invaluable criticism. Her close touch with the subject from the teacher's point of view made her suggestions especially helpful. I should be ungrateful not to acknowledge also her material assistance in preparing maps and tables and in work upon the proofs.

WILLIS MASON WEST.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA,
MINNEAPOLIS, March 1, 1902.

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ANCIENT HISTORY.

INTRODUCTION.

I. WHAT HISTORY SHALL WE STUDY?

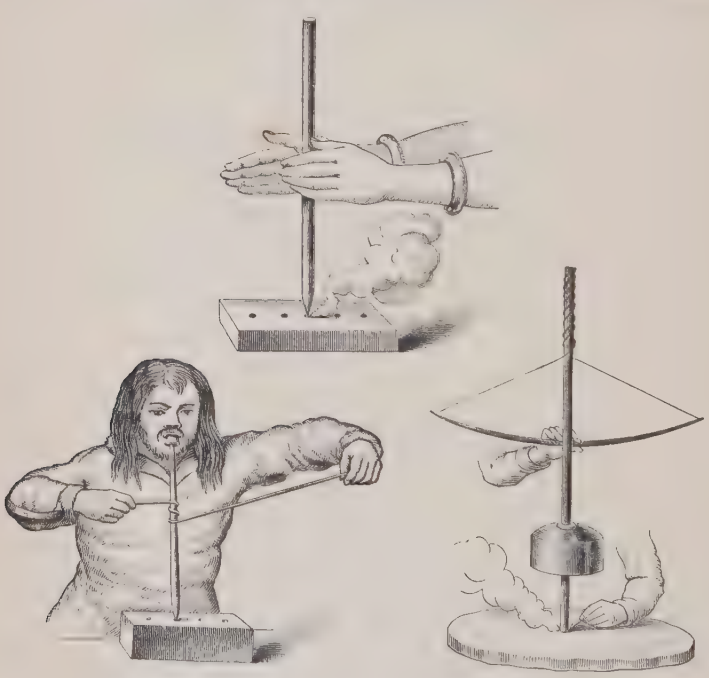
The whole series of human generations should be regarded as one man, ever living and ever learning. — PASCAL.

Through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns.
— TENNYSON.

1. Prehistoric Life excluded. — The first steps toward civilization must have been uncertain and slow. No doubt these beginnings took long periods of time, but we can know little about them, for no people leaves records that the historian can use until it has advanced a long way from primitive savagery. To be sure, there are tribes still in primitive stages; and, by comparing them with what can be gleaned from traditions, customs, words, and early records of our own civilization, scholars have learned something of how our forefathers must have lived before Homer and before the oldest inscriptions upon Egyptian stone. But this study of early cultures, fascinating though it be, is not properly history. History is based always upon records, and these older stages in human life we call *prehistoric.*

Still, it is well for us to remember that our imposing and varied civilization rests upon this unrecorded work of prehistoric man through slow, uncounted ages. The development of language; the invention of the bow, of making fire, of pottery

to stand the fire; the domestication of the dog and cow; the learning to live together, not in droves, but in families and tribes; the rude beginnings of agriculture; the smelting of metals to replace stone tools; — these are steps any of which are infinitely more important than the discovery of electricity or the growth of federal government: but all this, and much



THREE STAGES IN FIRE-MAKING.

more, had become the common property of many races before history began anywhere.

2. **Some Historic Races excluded.** — Even when limited so in time, the history of all the civilizations of the world is too vast and complex for our study. We must narrow the field. Now, we care chiefly to know of those peoples whose life has borne

fruit for ours. We study that part of the recorded past which explains our present. This principle gives oneness to history, and, at the same time, simplifies it by shutting out vast areas. In this hemisphere we can neglect the Aztec and Inca civilizations; likewise in the Old World we can omit the isolated Hindoos and Chinese, though these two peoples were among the first to emerge from barbarism and though they still count half the population of the globe.[1] Nor are we concerned, until modern times at least, with many peoples, like the Russians, who have been drawn only recently into the current of our development.

3. The Field selected and the Periods. — Thus we bound our study in space as well as in time. Until long after Columbus, our interest centers in Europe, and mostly in Western Europe. The life of man there, through all historic time, is the soil out of which grows our life to-day. And when we look for the early peoples who have shaped this European life, we see three — Greeks, Romans, and Teutons — towering above all others.[2] We shall group our study around these three life-directing centers. But the civilization of the Greeks and Romans was not wholly original. It was modified by certain older civilizations outside Europe, near the eastern shores of the Mediterranean; and the history of these Oriental states makes the dim ante-room through which we pass to European history.

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[1] The Hindoo Buddha (sixth century B.C.) is perhaps second only to Christ in greatness and purity among the founders of religions, and the Chinese Confucius of the same century must rank among the great moral teachers of the world; but our Western thought has not been influenced by either of them to any considerable degree. It now seems probable that these countries will affect our civilization in the future, but in the past the only important contribution which we can trace to them, positively, is the "Arabic" notation from the Hindoos.

[2] The inhabitants of ancient France, Spain, Britain, and of southern and eastern Germany are not included. It is true that they constituted a large part of European life, but that life was given its peculiar characteristics largely by the three elements named. The reason that the Jews are not mentioned, despite their great influence, will appear in later chapters.

Now we can answer the question that heads this chapter. As the panorama unfolds, we see civilizations, already old, in the fertile river-valleys of Egypt and of Western Asia. Their story is *Oriental History*. It covered thousands of years, but we view only fragments of it, and this by way of introduction to European history.

About 600 B.C. the proper history of our civilization begins, in the far southeast of Europe, when the Greeks take over the work and shift the scene west in patches along the Mediterranean. They make marvelous advance in art, literature, philosophy, and in some sciences. Their chief contributions are intellectual; but after about three hundred years, under Alexander the Great, they suddenly conquer the East and form a Graeco-Oriental world. This mingling of East and West gives the first basis for modern civilization.

Two centuries later, political leadership has passed to the next peninsula west. There the Romans supplement the Greek work by peculiar contributions in law and government, gathering together, too, whatever has been preserved from the older civilizations. By conquest, the Romans unite under one sway all the historic peoples of the East, and extend civilization over the barbarians of the West, so that at the birth of Christ they have organized the fringe of the three continents bordering the Mediterranean into one fairly uniform Graeco-Roman society. This is the second basis for modern civilization. The Eastern world, largely Greek, was to be lost again for a time, later on, but the development of the West was to be continuous to the present day. This Roman Empire is the central "lake in which all the streams of ancient history lose themselves, and which all the streams of modern history flow out of." The Graeco-Oriental world of Alexander, upon the conqueror's death, broke up politically into fragments, but the Roman dominion maintains its political unity for five centuries. The combined period of Greek and Roman history, from 600 B.C. to 400 A.D., is *Classical History*.

Toward the close of this thousand years the Romanized

races seem exhausted. Then, in Western Europe, Teutonic barbarians break in, to reinvigorate the classical world. They destroy much at first; but by what is left they slowly educate themselves up to the level of the older culture, and so prepare to go beyond it. This Romano-Teutonic Europe is the third terrace on which our civilization rests. What the Teutons did in Western, or Roman, Europe, the Slav barbarians did, not quite so successfully, in Eastern, or Greek, Europe, but their work does not affect our development until a later period. The process of Teutonic education is a long one, really lasting another thousand years; but the fusion of Teutonic and Romanized elements is well under way by the year 800 A.D., and we take this convenient date to mark the close of ancient history. The final four centuries, from 400 to 800 A.D., are the period of the *Teutonic Infusion.* This is the last division of ancient history, and it forms also a transition to modern history.

4. The Two Great Divisions of History. — It should be noted that *Ancient History* is relatively simple. The peoples to be studied are few, and they appear, not all at once, but one at a time; they themselves differ in character widely, and their contributions are distinct in kind. The stage, too, is compact: it shifts and expands from time to time, but the ancient world never gets far from the Mediterranean, which is its great high-road and chief bond of union. The theme of this division of history is *the early education and bringing together of the various peoples* who were then to produce our modern world.

The later story of the multiform *Teutonic-Roman civilization* so produced — and, in a minor degree, of the Slavic-Greek civilization of Eastern Europe — is *Modern History.* It surveys the rise of the many contemporaneous nations of Europe after 800 A.D., the varied forms of their progress to about 1500 A.D., and, since then, their marvelous expansion into new continents, with the consequent interaction and development. From century to century this story has grown more and more

complex. The actors are numerous and the stage is vast. In our own day it is rapidly widening as never before, and it promises in the near future to take in the whole globe and all branches of the human race.[1]

5. The Subject of this Volume. — This volume deals with the first of these two great divisions. It omits prehistoric times and those historic peoples who have not modified our history, and it does not enter upon the complex modern period. It prepares for modern history by treating ancient history under the following heads: —

PART I. Early Oriental civilization contributory to European development (Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Phoenician, Jewish, Persian).

PART II. Greek history, to 338 B.C.

PART III. Expansion of Hellenism (Graeco-Oriental world).

PART IV. History of Rome, to the Empire.

PART V. The Roman Empire (Graeco-Roman world).

PART VI. The Teutonic infusion, and the consequent confusion and fusion, to 800 A.D. (Romano-Teutonic Europe).

II. "RACE" IN HISTORY.

6. The Aryan Fiction. — Only a few years ago an ancient history must have begun with a rigid classification of men into related races. Invariably, too, there followed a eulogy upon the "tall, fair-haired, blue-eyed Aryans," whose subdivisions (Celts, Greeks, Latins, Germans, Slavs), it was taught, had marched in prehistoric times in successive migrations from

[1] Of course history is really one continuous drama, and this unity is more important than the paragraphing into acts and scenes. All divisions are more or less arbitrary, and certainly the old triple division — ancient, medieval, modern — has lost its sanctity. Some writers begin medieval history four hundred years later than others, while there is a two-hundred-year variation in the dates for its close. Plainly, the Middle Age is an uncertain one; and there is a manifest advantage in ignoring it and in making only two parts of history — one to include the *bringing together* of the chief historic elements, the other to treat their *subsequent workings*.

an original Asiatic home, to exterminate the smaller, darker, non-Aryan aborigines of Europe or to impose a higher culture upon them. To-day this old classification has broken down utterly; we do not know anything about an Aryan race, and the various "subdivisions" named above are probably not related in any such way as was formerly thought. The old doctrine was based upon similarity in languages; but, with the rise of new sciences, scholars have discovered that language is not a satisfactory test of race relationship. To say nothing of unrelated peoples who, in historical times, have come to speak closely related languages, as the Belgians and modern Peruvians have done, it is seen that it is easier for a people to adopt a new language, or even to modify its complexion, than to change the shape of its skull.[1]

In the present lack of satisfactory knowledge upon the subject, a book of this kind ought not to touch the race question at all, except for one reason: the student will meet misleading statements of the exploded theory in all but the latest books.[2] This makes it needful to utter emphatic caution

[1] It is true, Celts, Germans, Greeks, Latins, Slavs, and also Persians and Hindoos, did speak languages closely related. We call the languages Aryan. The relation between the languages points to *some* prehistoric connection between the various peoples — just as there is an indirect connection between the Belgians and Peruvians, through Romans and Spaniards. But the amount of blood common to Peruvians and Belgians is infinitesimal; and just so, in the light of new sciences, we are sure that this ancient connection between Celt and Hindoo did not amount to race-relationship.

For criticism of the older idea, see Taylor's *Aryan Race*, 33 and 204, and Ripley's *Races of Europe*, 454–456. Sergi's *Mediterranean Race* (1901 A.D.) and Hoernes's *Primitive Man* contain the results of the newer scholarship in popular form. Robertson's *Saxon and Celt* gives a spicy discussion on race origins (note especially pp. 29–32). In *The American Historical Review*, III. 703, Professor Ripley says, "Aryan is a term appertaining to a family of *languages*, possibly to a group of *cultures*, but *absolutely worthless as indicating any racial type*." So Oppert, "There are Indo-European (Aryan) languages, but no Indo-European race." So, too, recently, Max Müller, who forty years ago was foremost in propagating the idea of an Aryan race.

[2] Students in every science should form the habit of noting the dates of the books they use. Excellent works, still indispensable in many respects, are soon "out of date" in other matters.

against the old view; and, to back up the caution, it is worth while to present briefly the little that is now agreed upon, along with some strong probabilities.

7. The Three Great Races. — The *Mongolians*, in farther Asia beyond the Himalayas, and the *Negroes*, in Africa south of the Sahara, seem true "races." Each is uniform in type. Neither has produced a civilization, except as the Chinese have done so. Some scientists look upon the Mongolians and Negroes as "primary" races, and think that they may be of different origin. Intermediate between them, in physical characteristics as well as in geographical location, there has been a third group, a medley of *white peoples*, from whom have come all our historic nations. These Whites are less uniform in physical character, and we do not know whether or not they are a "race" proper. There is some tendency to regard them as a group of "secondary" races derived from the two primary ones, perhaps in a variety of ways.

8. Some of the White Races. — One important West-Asiatic group of whites are usually called *Semites*, because they have spoken so-called Semitic languages, although it seems probable that they are not all of the same stock. To this group belong all the Asiatic peoples with whom we have most concern, except the Persians and some inhabitants of Asia Minor.

Another "white" race is found in North Africa and in Southern Europe, and possibly in part of Asia Minor. It is commonly known as the *Mediterranean* race. The African branch is called Berber; the European, Iberian.

The white races of Europe need a more detailed statement. There are at least three important and strongly marked groups: in the south, this *Iberian* branch of the Mediterranean race; in the north, a *Teutonic* race; between them, a so-called *Alpine* race. The Iberians were short, brunette, and "long-headed" (the diameter of the skull from the forehead to the back of the head being at least one-third longer than the diameter from temple to temple). The Teutons were long-headed also, but

tall and blond. The Alpine race were fair and broad-headed (the diameter from temple to temple being over five-sixths the other diameter).

9. European Nations and these Races. — The Alpine, or Central European race, seems to have come in from Asia at a late prehistoric time, thrusting a dividing wedge between the two long-headed peoples. At one time it was spread widely over Europe, and it survives in south Germany, central France and Brittany, perhaps in Holland, and probably in the "Slavs" of Eastern Europe.

The Teutons include, for the most part, the modern Scandinavians, the North Germans, and the people of eastern England and of northeastern France. For some centuries after 400 A.D. they were the ruling class over most of Southern Europe, but they were finally absorbed there in the larger native populations.

To the Iberians belong (beside the African branch of the same race) the Greeks and Latins, the ancient and modern inhabitants of Spain and southern France, and the ancient inhabitants of the British Isles and the modern inhabitants of a large part of them. They included, therefore, all the historic peoples of Europe until the Teutons broke into the Roman Empire. They were probably aborigines, and their culture is believed to have been essentially indigenous up to the point at which our history will take it up.

10. Conclusion. — All these peoples have long since become more or less mixed, so that scientists find it almost impossible to secure a single "pure type." This classification, moreover, does not attempt to be exhaustive: even for Europe, it leaves many "fragments of forgotten peoples" unaccounted for. The statements, too, it must be emphasized, are in part hypotheses; they are of value because they give us a tolerable framework into which to fit our facts, until perhaps a better framework replaces it, as this has replaced the "Aryan" hypothesis.

Probably there is such a thing as race character. We need

not deny race as a factor in historical development, but we must be cautious in appealing to it as an explanation. We never know how much is race and how much is something else; and we may be very sure that much of what is lightly called race-character is the result of recent training or merely the mark of a certain stage of culture.

For Further Reading.[1] — It is not necessary that the student at this stage read further upon the matters treated in the *Introduction*, but the following volumes will give pleasure and profit, so far as time can be secured for them.

Waterloo, *Story of Ab* (a novel — a dramatic picture of prehistoric development); Dodge, *Our Wild Indians;* Keary, *Dawn of History;* Chaillu, *Viking Age;* Brinton, *American Race;* Mason, *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture;* Sergi, *Mediterranean Race;* Hoernes, *Primitive Man.*

For advanced students: Gomme, *Ethnology and Folk Lore;* Lang, *Custom and Myth;* Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion;* Spencer, *Ceremonial Institutions;* Tylor, *Early History of Mankind;* Taylor, *Origin of the Aryans* (a valuable book, still holding to a modified form of the Aryan hypothesis); Ripley, *Races of Europe;* Robertson, *Saxon and Celt;* Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece.*

Topics for Written Reports. — 1. Stages of prehistoric progress — Stone Age to Iron (advanced students may consult Lewis H. Morgan's *Ancient Society*, 9–13, for a good classification). 2. Kitchen-middens. 3. Early weaving. 4. History of fire-making. 5. Early pottery. 6. Early ornament. 7. Primitive counting.

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[1] Fuller descriptions of the books referred to in these lists, with dates and prices, are given in the Appendix.

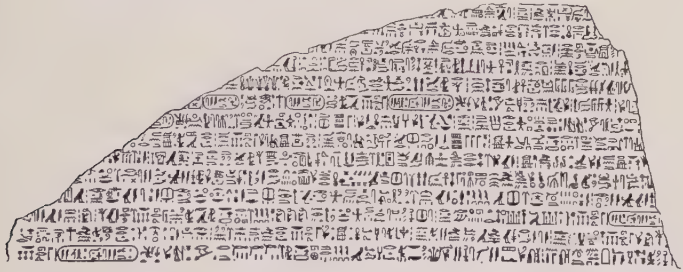
PART I.

ORIENTAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

A PRELIMINARY SURVEY.

11. The Rediscovery. — Our knowledge of the oldest history is, for the most part, new. Until about a century ago it comprised only scattered statements of Hebrew writers and some fragmentary traditions preserved by the Greeks. A few inscriptions in ancient characters were known to exist in the Nile valley, but no one could read them.



PORTION OF ROSETTA STONE, containing the hieroglyphs first deciphered.

Then, about 1800 A.D., Napoleon's soldiers, in laying foundations for a fort on the Rosetta branch of the Nile, found the "Rosetta Stone." This three-foot slab of black basalt bore three inscriptions, one in the ancient hieroglyphics of the

pyramids, one in a later Egyptian writing (likewise forgotten), and one in Greek. A French scholar proved the three to be one inscription in triplicate, and by means of the Greek he was able to fix the values of the other characters. With this key the Egyptian written language was finally reconstructed. More recently, a like task has been accomplished for the Assyrian (§ 69, note).

At first, however, there was little to read; but a new interest had been aroused, and, since 1850, vast sums and indomitable energy have been expended in exploration in the East. The sites of forgotten cities, once world-capitals but now long buried beneath desert sands, have been rediscovered. Many of them were found to contain great, copiously illustrated libraries in papyrus or on stone and brick. These have been deciphered in some measure by an army of devoted scholars, and since 1880 the results have appeared rapidly in English.[1]

12. The Three Centers: the Nile, the Euphrates, and the Road between. — The first homes of civilization were in the lower valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates. In each of these regions a cheap food supply made possible at an early date a dense population, with a leisure and military class supported by the agricultural masses. In both districts, too, at a still earlier time, the marvelously fertile soil attracted enterprising tribes from different sources, and so brought about a mixture of races — apparently a condition favorable to progress.

These two countries, *Egypt* and *Chaldea*, were some eight hundred miles apart in a straight line. Practically the distance was greater. The only feasible route ran along two legs of a triangle — north from Egypt through the Syrian valleys to the upper waters of the Euphrates, and then down that valley. Except upon this Syrian side, however, neither country in the

[1] Indeed our knowledge of these civilizations is still in its infancy. The British Museum now contains unread inscriptions that at the present rate of reading would occupy scholars a century more, and the accumulation is rapidly gaining upon the readers.

MEDITERRANEAN
SEA
Sidon
Tyre
Damascus
Tadmor
Nineveh
Euphrates River
Tigris River
Babylon
Ur
Memphis
Nile River
RED SEA
First Homes of
CIVILIZATION
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200
Longitude East from Greenwich

time of its greatness had any important foreign relations. Africa had no great civilization but the Egyptian; and the Euphrates region was shut off from India and China by vast deserts and lofty mountains. Thus this Syrian district, intermediate between the Asiatic and the African states, became their battle ground and trade exchange. At times, too, it comes into prominence itself as an independent, third center of civilization.

A more detailed survey of Egyptian boundaries will make clearer the significance of this intermediate land. To the west of the Nile state lay Libya, stretching across the continent, — an immense but inhospitable tract. The portion bordering Egypt was particularly barren, forming a wide abatis against attack by the scattered tribes of the desert. To the south, at a distance, was a more powerful neighbor. Ethiopia, including Nubia and fertile Abyssinia, exceeded Egypt in size, and its brave and warlike people possessed some civilization, probably drawn from Egypt. However, a desert, extremely difficult for an army to traverse, extended a twelve-day march between the two states, and communication by the river was absolutely shut off by long series of rocky gorges above the cataracts of Egypt; so that, in the days of her power, Egypt had little to fear from the less advanced country. On the other sides, the line of defense formed by the Mediterranean and the broad moat of the Red Sea was broken only at the extreme north by the isthmus.

Thus, with sides and rear protected, Egypt faced Asia across this narrow bridge. Here, too, the immediate district was largely desert; but, after all, Arabia numbered a large population of nomad tribes, always harassing the Egyptian frontier, and sometimes constituting a formidable danger; while directly north of the isthmus the narrow strip of habitable land between the desert and the sea was a nursery of warlike peoples. Here dwelt the Phoenicians, Philistines, Canaanites, Hebrews, and Hittites. Usually they were all tributary to Egypt or Chaldea, from whom, too, their civilization was derived; but at times, when both these powers were weak, there

arose independent Syrian kingdoms, like that of the Jews under David and Solomon. Indeed, this district might have escaped the fatal consequences of its position on the road from Africa to Asia if its peoples could have united against their common foes; but ranges of mountains and rivers broke it into five or six unequal states, all small and mutually hostile. Two of them — those of the Jews and the Phoenicians — will have special notice in Chapter IV.

13. The Periods. — In each of the two greater centers there is a long period of *development in isolation*. Then, with extension of power, comes a period of *intercourse*, hostile and friendly, through the intermediate region. Finally follows a period of *union* — at first by the dominance of one or the other, and then by the subjection of all this Eastern world to the new power of Persia. This Persian Empire almost at once comes in conflict with the Greeks, and so introduces us to European history.

CHAPTER II.

EGYPT.

I. GEOGRAPHY.

Egypt as a geographical expression is two things — the Desert and the Nile. As a habitable country, it is only one thing — the Nile.

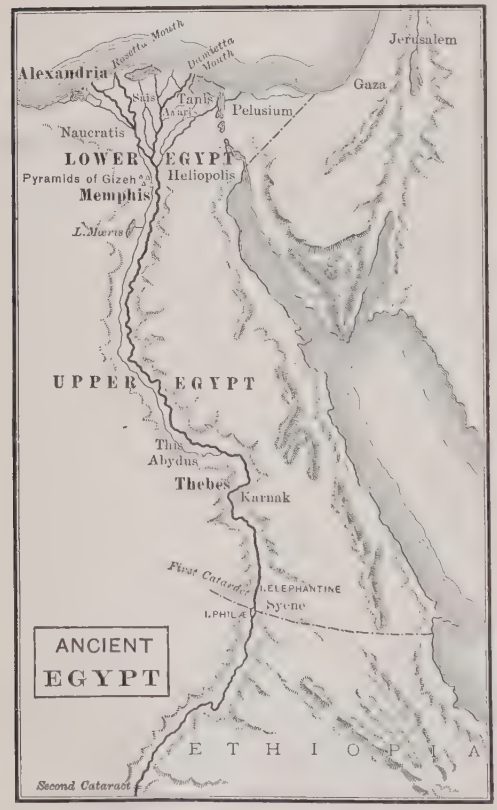
— Alfred Milner.

14. Territory. — The Egypt of a map includes about as much land as Colorado or Italy; but seven eighths of it is only a wide sandy border to the real Egypt. This latter is the valley and delta of the Nile — from the cataracts to the sea. It is smaller than Maryland, and falls into two natural parts. *Upper Egypt* is the valley proper; it is a strip of vegetable mold about six hundred miles long and usually about ten miles wide — a slim oasis between parallel lines of rugged, desolate hills. Then, for the remaining hundred miles, the valley broadens suddenly into the delta; this *Lower Egypt* is a squat triangle of rich, level plain resting on a three-hundred-mile base of curving coast, where shifting, marshy lakes meet the sea.

15. The Significance of the Nile. — Rain rarely falls anywhere in the country — a heavy shower not oftener than once in ten or fifteen years. Egypt, therefore, as the Greeks said, is "the gift of the Nile." Except for that river, Upper Egypt would be part of the Sahara, and Lower Egypt would have remained a sandy bottom beneath the Mediterranean waves.

And what the river has made, it sustains. Toward the close of the eight cloudless months before the annual overflow, there is a brief period when the land seems gasping for

moisture, "only half alive, waiting the new Nile." The rise and the withdrawal of the inundation are gradual, lasting from July to November; but during the days while the flood is at its height, Egypt is a sheet of turbid water, between two lines of rock and sand, marked off into compartments by the raised roads connecting the towns and villages that dot the waters; while from their sandy plateau at a distance the pyramids look down upon the scene, as they have done each season for six thousand years. The rich loam dressing, so brought down from the hills of Ethiopia, is spread over the fields and maintains their unwearied fertility, while the long soaking supplies moisture to the soil for months to come.



Man, however, has had his share in making Egypt. In prehistoric times, the inhabitants had learned to control and distribute the overflow, by a complicated network of dikes, reservoirs, and canals. This system was so complete that under the ancient monarchy the peasantry

cultivated more soil and produced more wealth than in modern times, until English control was recently established.

16. Political Geography; Growth of a Kingdom. — Civilization in Egypt appears well advanced with its first records, about 4500 or 5000 B.C. We cannot know how many thousands of years it had taken for this culture to develop from the savagery of the surrounding tribes. Certainly the earliest dwellers in the valley were in a most primitive stage, using the rudest of stone implements and practicing savage and barbarous customs. Gradually centers of culture appeared — perhaps as a result of conquest from Asia — and contending principalities arose. These were united by centuries of conflict into the two kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt. The former principalities remained, however, as "nomes," or administrative units. The more important nomes seem to have been ruled by hereditary princes under the supreme monarch; and, throughout Egyptian history, at intervals rival cities renewed their struggle for headship.

The Nile, which had made physical Egypt, played its part, too, in making political Egypt. The regulation of the annual inundation must have been the earliest common interest of the people. No doubt neighboring villages waged countless bloody, semi-aquatic wars before they learned the costly lesson of coöperation; but the waste and the danger from separate or hostile action must have helped, from early periods, to force home the need of concert and union.

II. POLITICAL HISTORY.[1]

17. The Memphite Period. — The later Egyptians classified their native kings into some thirty "dynasties." These may be grouped further into four periods, according to the location of the center of power, — Memphite, Theban, Saïte, and Alex-

[1] The following three-page skeleton of forty-five hundred years of history is designed for reading and reference, not for close study.

andrian. The first ten dynasties ruled at or near Memphis in Lower Egypt. This period of the "Ancient Empire" lasted to 2800 B.C. At a very early date the Memphite princes conquered the upper valley also, and made one kingdom of all Egypt. The monarchs of the fourth dynasty built the greatest of the pyramids for their tombs; and these impressive monuments to their pitiless selfishness were the oldest source of our knowledge of antiquity until Professor Petrie, in the closing years of the nineteenth century, discovered the written records of the first three dynasties.

18. The Theban Period. — The later part of the long supremacy of Memphis was a time of anarchy and decay. Then rival princes at Thebes, in Upper Egypt, seized the kingdom. They, too, comprised ten dynasties (11th–20th), lasting another seventeen hundred years, to 1100 B.C., but the period is divided by a time of foreign rule, making three subperiods.

a. The Early Theban Period: to the Hyksos Conquest. — The great eleventh and twelfth dynasties reorganized the state, and, in a century of warfare, subdued Ethiopia and the negro tribes of the upper Nile. The characteristic works of the period were vast internal improvements. With reference to these, a king of the twelfth dynasty boasts in his epitaph that all his commands had "ever increased the love his subjects bore him"; and Rawlinson says (*Ancient Egypt*, II. 74): —

> "The second Egyptian civilization differed in many respects from the first. The first was self-seeking, stately, cruel. The second was utilitarian, beneficent, judicious. The encouragement of trade, the digging of wells, the formation of reservoirs, the protection of roads, the building of ships, and the exploration of hitherto unknown seas, . . . such were the objects which the monarchs of the eleventh dynasty set before them. Content with rude coffins and humble sepulchers [instead of pyramids], they were able to employ the labor of their subjects in productive pursuits."

b. The Hyksos. — Another of the intervals of decay that so strangely follow the outbursts of glory through all Egyptian history left the country subject to invading nomads from

Arabia. These *Hyksos*, or *Shepherd Kings*, maintained themselves in Egypt about four hundred years (2000–1600 B.C.). They destroyed a great part of the records of the previous civilization, except those hidden in tombs, and their period itself is one of scanty remains. They harried the land cruelly for

Sculptured Head of Thûtmosis III., of the eighteenth dynasty, who in twelve great campaigns first carried Egyptian arms from the isthmus to Nineveh. His mummy, recently discovered, indicates that this representation idealized his features.

a time, as invaders; then from some seat in the Delta they ruled Egypt through tributary kings; and finally they took on Egyptian culture and became themselves Egyptian sovereigns.

c. The "Later Theban" Period. — The native line of monarchs had remained, however, as under-kings at Thebes; finally, after another long war, they expelled the Hyksos, and

began the "later Theban" period. Shortly after this, the eighteenth dynasty raised Egypt to its highest pitch of power. The Hyksos conquest seems to have crushed internal rivalries for a season, and to have introduced a more effective and centralized administration, to which the new Theban monarchs succeeded. Between 1600 and 1400 B.C., Egypt recovered Ethiopia, and, for the first time entering Asia, conquered the various Syrian states, finally reaching the Tigris and securing at least a nominal supremacy over Babylonia.

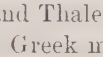
This was the first political union of the East. It paved the way for future unions, and so was a step toward the empires of Persia, of Alexander, and of Rome. In Egypt itself, the booty and the multitudes of captives, together with the tribute in Asiatic products, led to the introduction of new arts and to greater luxury. In science, too, this new East had much to teach the African civilization.

About 1320 B.C. a new and surprising enemy appeared. The Libyan tribes (§ 12), aided by many strange "peoples of the sea" (Greeks among them), all but seized the Delta. A little later, the *Hittites* from Asia Minor attacked Syria in a long series of campaigns (§§ 41, 56). Thus in their later period the power of the Theban kings suffered some eclipse.

During this weaker period the Hebrew serfs escaped from Egypt. They seem to have come in during the rule of the friendly Arabian Hyksos; the powerful monarchs of the restored native dynasty reduced them to slavery; but now, in the time of Egypt's weakness, the Israelites fled again to the Arabian desert (§ 60).

19. The Saïte Period. — Then the capital returned to the Delta, and was located, after a time, at the new city of Saïs. The change probably indicates internal dissensions. Certainly the dominion in both Africa and Asia narrowed, until, after six hundred years of rule in Syria and on the Upper Nile (as long a time as separates us from the last crusades), Egypt was driven again within her ancient bounds, and finally became

herself subject, first to Ethiopia (730 B.C.), and then to Assyria (672 B.C.).

Twenty years later, *Psametichus*, , one of the native tributary rulers, restored Egyptian independence, and began the later Saïte period, which was to last a little over a century. Psametichus himself was probably of Libyan blood. He opened Egypt to foreigners, and especially welcomed the Greeks, who were coming into notice as soldiers and sailors. This is probably the period of the most important Egyptian influence upon Europe. Not only did individual travelers, like Solon and Thales, visit Egypt (§ 125 and § 142), but great numbers of Greek mercenaries served for a time in the army, and considerable Greek settlements were established in the country. *Neco*,  , the second king of this restored monarchy, about 600 B.C., revived an ancient attempt to cut a canal through the isthmus, and apparently secured the circumnavigation of Africa by his Phoenician sailors.[1]

20. Under Foreign Rule. — The favor shown foreigners seems to have disgusted the soldier class, who finally emigrated in great numbers to Ethiopia. This made easy the conquest by Persia in 525 B.C., and Egyptian independence under native sovereigns disappeared forever. Egypt was ruled as a group of provinces under Persian satraps for three centuries. Then Alexander the Great established Greek sway over all the Persian world. At his death Egypt did become again a separate state, but under the Greek Ptolemies ruling from their new Greek capital at Alexandria. Cleopatra, the last of this line of monarchs, fell before Augustus Caesar, and Egypt became a Roman province, 30 B.C.

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[1] Herodotus, the Greek historian who tells us the story, adds: "On their return they reported (others may believe them but I will not) that in sailing from east to west around Africa they had the sun on their right hand." This report, which Herodotus could not believe, is good proof to us of the sailors' truthfulness.

The latter part of the last period really belongs to Greek and Roman history. The forty-two hundred years of earlier history may be summarized briefly. The kings of the Delta unite Egypt, and rule for seventeen hundred or two thousand years (as long a time as separates us from the birth of Christ). Under Theban kings Egyptian rule is extended over nearly all the Oriental world; this period, too, covers seventeen hundred years; it is broken by four hundred years of subjection to the Hyksos, and the last two hundred years also are centuries of decline. In the next six hundred years, under a second period of Delta kings, Egypt contracts to her ancient limits. Then she becomes subject to Asiatic states, which in turn, two hundred years later, fall under European rule.

III. PEOPLE, SOCIETY, CIVILIZATION.

21. Races and Population. — At least three race elements went to form the ancient Egyptian — Berber, Arabian, Negro, and possibly the Abyssinian; but before the beginning of history these had been welded into one type which persists to-day after so many later infusions.

As in other countries with an hereditary aristocracy, nobles and commoners came to differ physically. The later sculptures and mummies show the nobles tall, lithe, and handsome, with imperious carriage; and the lower classes, heavier of feature and dumpy in build. The population in historic times numbered from five to seven millions. Herodotus says the country contained twenty thousand "towns," or villages.[1]

22. Social Classes and Government. — The organization of society was closely connected with the system of landholding. In theory the monarch, or *Pharaoh*, was absolute master of the people and absolute owner of the soil. In practice his authority was limited by the power of the organized priests and by the necessity of conciliating the ambitious nobles. As to the land, the monarch kept a portion in his own hands to cultivate

[1] Turkish misrule had reduced this population in the first of the nineteenth century to about two and a half millions; but under English administration it has increased again rapidly to some nine millions in 1897.

by servile labor directed by royal stewards, but the larger part he parceled out among the nobles.

These *nobles* in return were bound to pay a fixed amount of produce, and to furnish and lead a certain number of soldiers in war. On the death of a landholder, his holding in theory reverted to the king, but it was always conferred by him at once upon the heir; so that in practice it was a family property, subject to fixed rent in produce and in service. Within

Photograph of a Modern Egyptian Woman sitting by a Sculptured Head of an Ancient King. — From Maspero's *Dawn of Civilization.*

his domain the noble was himself absolute; he executed justice, levied taxes, kept up his army. Like the king, he cultivated part of the land himself by his dependents, and part he let out in large holdings to aristocratic *vassals*, who stood to him as he to the king.

A considerable part of the land — perhaps one third — was attached to the temples, free of any obligation except the maintenance of the temple worship. It had become really the property of the organized and powerful *priesthoods*.

Actual labor upon all the land was performed by a *peasant class* not unlike that found in Egypt to-day. Some of them rented small farms; but a great majority were day laborers or held only insufficient lots on precarious terms. They were not bound to the soil, however, as the like class was later in Europe; they could move about at will; but, just as the great noble had a master and protector in Pharaoh, and the smaller noble in the larger one, so the peasant must remain attached to some patron, or he was liable to become the prey of any powerful enemy. Public opinion formed some check, however, upon arbitrary tyranny, and perhaps the poor were as safe as they have been in most countries in controversies with the rich and powerful. The oldest written "story" in the world (surviving in a papyrus of the twelfth dynasty) gives an interesting illustration: a peasant, robbed through a legal trick by the dependent of a royal officer, appeals to the judges and finally to the king; the king commands redress, enjoining his officer to do justice "like a praiseworthy man praised by the praiseworthy." Such appeals were probably no more difficult to make than on the continent of Europe all through the Middle Ages.

In the towns there was a large *middle class* — merchants, shopkeepers, physicians, notaries, builders, and skilled artisans. The fact that *laborers* could win a strike (§ 35) proves that their condition was not one of universal misery. The *slave* class was apparently not very important.

There was *no real caste* in Egyptian society. As a matter of convenience, the son commonly followed his father's occupation, but there was no law (as in some Oriental countries) to prevent his passing into a different class; and sometimes the son of a poor herdsman did rise to wealth and power.[1] Such progress was most easily open to the *scribes*. This learned profession was recruited from the brighter boys of the middle

[1] For a remarkable example, see an Egyptian biography of such a self-made man, in Maspero's *Dawn of Civilization*, 290–296. The Hebrew Joseph's experience is hardly a case in point, but rather an instance of capricious favor such as is always possible in an Oriental despotism.

and lower classes. The majority found employment only in clerical work; but from the abler ones the nobles chose confidential secretaries and stewards, and some of these, who developed administrative ability, were promoted by the Pharaohs to the highest dignities in the land. Such men founded new families to reënforce the ranks of the nobility.

The soldiers are spoken of by the later Greek writers as a distinct class, and have sometimes been called a "caste." They were not an hereditary class, however, but were recruited from all available sources. They were kept under arms only when their services were needed. Each soldier held a small farm, of some eight acres, exempt from taxes and dues. Besides the

SHOEMAKERS. — Egyptian relief from the monuments.

enrolled and privileged soldiery, the peasantry were called out upon occasion, for war or for distant garrisons.

There was also a numerous and complicated *bureaucracy* connected with the government. Every despotism has to develop such a class, to act as eyes, hands, and feet; but in ancient Egypt the royal officials were particularly numerous and important. Until a late date the Egyptians had no money, and all the immense royal revenues, as well as all debts between private men, had to be collected "in kind." The treasurers must receive and care for and keep account of cattle, grain, wine, oil, stuffs, metals, jewels, — "all that the heavens give, all that the earth produces, all that the Nile brings from its

mysterious sources," as one king puts it in an inscription. This meant an army of royal officials; and, for a like reason, the great nobles needed a large class of trusted servants.

Thus we have for the superstructure of society a large ruling aristocracy of birth, another of merit (scribes and physicians), two specially privileged bodies (priests and soldiers), and the mass of privileged officials of all grades down to petty overseers. To most of these, life was a very pleasant thing, filled with active employment and varied with manifold recreations, as the monuments show. Below these, the middle class — shopkeepers, skilled artisans, and peasant proprietors — ranged

Levying the Tax. — An Egyptian relief from the monuments.

from comfort to misery. At the bottom was a large agricultural class heavily burdened with the weight of all these others. The condition of this class is always bad enough in Oriental despotisms, falling little short of practical slavery. Royal taxes, in particular, are exacted harshly, and the poor peasant is responsible for any deficit with all that he has, — even with his person or his family. All this was true in ancient Egypt; still, from the Egyptian literature, the peasants seem to have been careless and gay, petting their cattle and singing at their work, and the large population indicates that they were prosperous. Probably they were as well off as the like class has been during the past century in Egypt or in Russia.

23. The Position of Woman was decidedly better than in the later Greek civilization, and better than in modern Oriental states. The wife was the friend and companion of the man. She was not secluded in a harem or confined strictly to a domestic existence, but appeared in company and at public ceremonies. She possessed equal rights at law; and, at intervals, great queens ruled upon the throne, while others evidently molded their sons and influenced their husbands. In no other country, until modern times, do pictures of happy domestic life play so large a part.

Sphinx and Pyramid. — From a photograph.

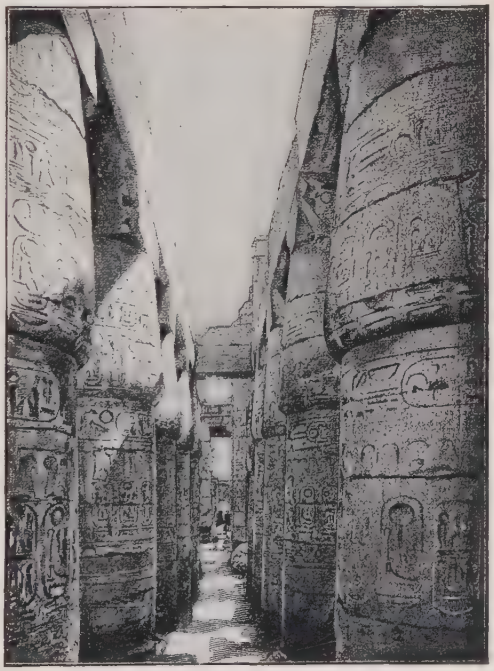
24. Industries and the Arts. — The skilled artisans included brickworkers, weavers, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, coppersmiths, upholsterers, glass-blowers, potters, shoemakers, tailors, armorers, etc. Many of these had acquired a marvelous dexterity, and were masters of processes that are not now known. The weavers in particular produced delicate and exquisite linen, almost as fine as silk, and the workers in glass and metal were famous for their skill. Jewels were imitated in glass so artfully that only an expert can detect the fraud by the appear-

ance to-day. Bronze was introduced at an early date, perhaps by the Phoenicians; but there is no evidence of the use of iron until about 800 B.C.

Obelisk and Temple of the Sun at Karnak.

Sculpture, painting, and architecture were the leading arts. In the closed rock tombs, the painting has lasted with perfect freshness, but it perishes almost immediately upon exposure.

It is said to represent a high development in the use of color. Much of the early sculpture was lifelike; and the unnatural colossal statues, such as the Sphinxes, have a solemn power and gloomy grandeur in keeping with the melancholy desert that stretches about them. This art reached its best stage in the Memphite period. Later, it was shackled by conventions. Its association with religion seems to have forbidden change in its methods; and, no longer able to progress, it began to decline. But *the* Egyptian art was *architecture*, especially the architecture of the temple and the tomb. Of the last, the *pyramids* are the great example, although they were, after all, only exaggerated reproductions in stone of savage grave mounds like those of our early North American Indians. The Nile has been credited sometimes with an influence upon this form of Egyptian building, and certainly such structures would be better adapted than any other to withstand the annual attack of the waters in the valley. In their better domestic architecture the Egyptians used the true *arch*, and in their temples they sometimes made



Aisle in the Ruins at Karnak.

use of graceful *columns* (both of which forms they may have taught the Greeks); but for their more important buildings they preferred massive walls, and ceilings of immense flat slabs. The result is peculiarly imposing, and gives an impression of stupendous power, but it lacks grace and beauty.

25. Literature and the Hieroglyphics. — The Egyptians wrote religious and theological works, poems, histories, travels, novels, orations, treatises upon morals, scientific works, geographies, cook books, catalogues, and collections of fairy stories (*Cinderella* among them).

The oldest writing, as with all early peoples, was a picture story, but on the first monuments this had advanced to a rebus stage; that is, the pictures had become "conventionalized" into a system of hieroglyphics — "a delightful assemblage of birds, snakes, men, tools, stars, and beasts." In many cases one of these shrunken pictures might stand either for a thing or for an idea connected with it. Thus ⊙ may represent either the sun or light. From their sound value, too, some symbols came to represent syllables in longer words. Then some of these semiphonetic signs grew into real letters, or signs of single sounds. Now, if the Egyptians could have kept these last and have dropped all the rest, they would have had a true alphabet; but this step they never took. The temple inscriptions remained to the last a curious mixture of thousands of signs of things, ideas, syllables, and sounds.

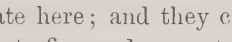
A Capital from Karnak.

When the writing was performed rapidly upon papyrus or

upon pottery, the strokes were run together, and the characters were modified gradually into quite a different script. This "hieratic" writing was used for all purposes except religious or funeral inscriptions. It was written with a reed, in black or red ink; and the dry air of the Egyptian tombs has preserved great numbers of the buried papyrus rolls to our day.[1]

26. Science. — The Nile has been called the father of Egyptian Science. The necessity of resurveying the land sometimes after an inundation is thought to have had to do with the early proficiency in *geometry;* and the desirability of fixing in advance the exact period of the inundation may have had some influence in directing attention to the true "year," and so to *astronomy.* Great progress was made in both these studies. We moderns who learn glibly from books and diagrams the results of this early labor, can hardly understand how difficult a task confronted these first scientific observers, who had only the complex book of the heavens open to them. They seem to have understood correctly the revolution of the earth and planets around the sun, together with other celestial phenomena too obscure to state here; and they certainly fixed the year at three hundred sixty-five and a quarter days and a fraction, and invented the leap year arrangement. This year, together with their calendar of months, we get from them through Julius Caesar (§ 447). They excelled also in *medicine;* and in *arithmetic* they dealt readily in numbers to millions, with the aid of a notation similar to that used later by the Romans. Thus three thousand four hundred twenty-three was

represented by the Romans: M M M C C C C XX III

and by the Egyptians: 

All this learning is older than the Greek by almost twice as long a time as the Greek is older than ours of to-day. No

[1] A good account of the hieroglyphics is given in Keary's *Dawn of History.* 298–303.

wonder, then, that in the last days of Egyptian greatness, the priest of Saïs exclaimed to a visitor from little Athens whose fame was yet to make: "O Solon, Solon! You Greeks are mere children. There is no old opinion handed down among you by ancient tradition, nor any science hoary with age!" It must be remembered, however, that all the higher science was the possession only of the priests and perhaps of a few others.

27. Religion. — There was a curious mixture of religions. A *worship of ancestors* was universal, with a dark background of evil spirits and malicious ghosts. Such worship is found among all primitive peoples, and will be treated more in detail when we come to the study of Greece.

There was also a revolting *worship of animals* — cats, dogs, bulls, crocodiles. Probably this was a degraded exaggeration of a form of ancestor worship known as *totemism*, found among many people. North American Indians of a wolf clan or a bear clan — with a fabled wolf or bear for an ancestor — must on no account injure the ancestral animal, or "totem." Even Rome, with its legend of Romulus nursed by a wolf, gives some curious survivals of an earlier worship of this sort, and on several occasions late in history Roman armies permitted wild wolves to run in and out among their ranks uninjured. In Egypt, however, this worship became more widely spread, and took on grosser features, than has ever been the case elsewhere.

Above all this, there was a worship of *personified powers of nature*, — a belief in numerous mythological deities and demigods representing natural phenomena. As a concession to the populace, perhaps, these were commonly represented by animal symbols, but with the higher classes the nature worship mounted sometimes to a lofty and pure worship of one God whose name was, "*I am that I am.*" The symbol preferred by the adherents of this higher religion was the disk of the sun, for Light, Truth, and All-sustaining Power (§ 31). These higher meanings never became widespread, of course; and

indeed the political decline after the great eighteenth dynasty seems to have been connected with a long and bitter movement of the populace and the priests against the attempt of a "heretic king" to popularize the "disk worship" in its more spiritual forms.

The universal practice of embalming the body may have originated in a belief in a resurrection or reincarnation, or perhaps only in the savage idea that the body remained the home of the ghost, and that, deprived of it, the ghost would become harmful. Indeed, with regard to a future life there seem to have been two or three stages of belief. In the oldest

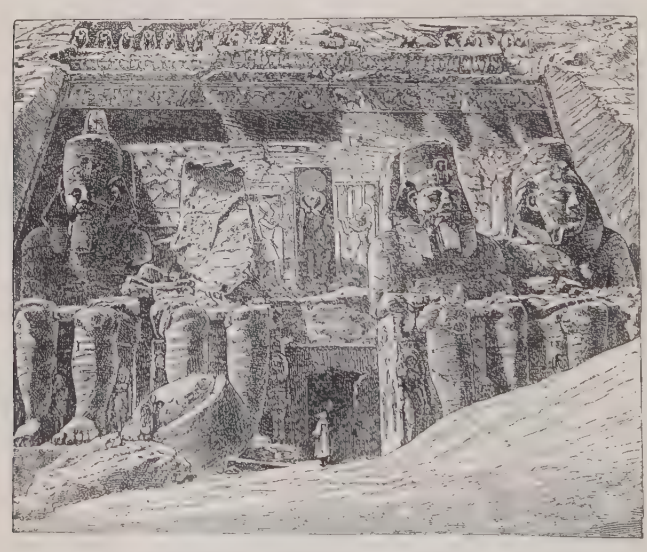
Sculptured Funeral Couch: the soul is represented crouching by the mummy.

tombs, there are found dishes where had been placed food and drink for the ghost, just as with nearly all savage peoples, and as is still done, indeed, by the Egyptian peasant after these six thousand years of many later faiths.

Such practices seem to originate in a belief that the soul remains in or near the tomb, with but a pale and joyless existence. But upon some such lower basis there grew up, among the better classes anyway, a belief in a truer immortality for those who deserved it. The dead, it was thought, lived in some distant Elysium, where they had all the pleasures of life without its pains, — though this haven was only for those ghosts

who knew certain religious and magic formulas to guard against destruction on the perilous spirit-journey thither, and who, on arrival, should be declared worthy by the "Judges of the Dead" (§ 29).

28. Morality. — The standard of morals was not high, if measured by modern ideas. Some features of their life seem to us shocking and obscene; and the modesty and refinement



Rock-hewn Colossi of Rameses II.

that moderns demand were totally absent. The ideal was soft and gentle, rather than exacting. They were a kindly people. The sympathy expressed by Egyptian writers for the poor (§§ 29, 30, 34) is a note not heard elsewhere in ancient literature; and even if mainly sentimental, it speaks something for the gentleness of the Egyptian aristocracy. On the whole, all scholars agree in giving the Egyptians high praise among the peoples of antiquity: "More moral, sympathetic, and conscientious than any other ancient people," says Petrie;

"If less refined than Athens, yet in some points both more moral and more civilized," asserts Rawlinson; Maspero styles the profession of faith in their *Repudiation of Sins* "among the noblest bequeathed us by the ancient world," indicating, as it does, "a keen sense of obligation not only to the gods, but also to one's fellow-men"; Simcox's *Primitive Civilization* says of Egyptian epitaphs, "In no other country, ancient or modern, do we find so clear and full a description of purely domestic virtues as forming the best title to regard"; while Professor Petrie sums up the matter, — "The Egyptian, without our Christian sense of sin or self-reproach, sought out a fair and noble life. . . . His aim was to be an easy, good-natured, quiet gentleman, and to make life as agreeable as he could to all about him."

IV. ILLUSTRATIVE EXTRACTS.

29. From the Repudiation of Sins, to be made before the Judges of the Dead. (Many of these phrases are found upon the most ancient tombs. In the later, but very old, *Book of the Dead* they are collected and harmonized. The parts given here show a sense of duty toward one's fellow-men. Much of the omitted part has to do with ceremonial justification. For more extended quotations, see Maspero's *Dawn of Civilization*, 188–190.)

"Hail unto you, ye lords of Truth! hail to thee, great god, lord of Truth and Justice! . . . I have not committed iniquity against men! I have not oppressed the poor! . . . I have not laid labor upon any free man beyond that which he wrought for himself! . . . I have not caused the slave to be ill-treated of his master! I have not starved any man, I have not made any to weep, . . . I have not pulled down the scale of the balance! I have not falsified the beam of the balance! I have not taken away the milk from the mouths of sucklings! . . . There is no crime against me in this land of the Double Truth! . . .

"Grant that he may come unto you — he that hath not lied nor borne false witness, . . . but who feedeth on truth, . . . he that hath given bread to the hungry and drink to him that was athirst, and that hath clothed the naked with garments; . . . his mouth is pure; his two hands are pure."

From an Inscription by an Ancient Noble. — "I have caused no child of tender age to mourn; I have despoiled no widow, I have driven away no tiller of the soil. . . . None about me have been unfortunate, nor starving in my time."

30. From the Precepts of Ptah-hotep, a noble of the fifth dynasty. (It takes some twenty pages of ordinary print to reproduce this collection of precepts, which are nearly twice as old as Solomon's proverbs. The Papyrus, now at Berlin, which contains them is the oldest book in the world. They are in verse. A complete translation is given in the *Records of the Past,* III.)

"Be not arrogant because of that which thou knowest, no artist being in possession of the perfection to which he should aspire."

"Inspire not men with fear. [This is addressed to officers and judges.] Listen to the discourses of the petitioner; be not abrupt with him. The way to secure a clear explanation is to listen with kindness."

"Keep thyself from every attack of bad humor."

"Treat thy dependents well."

"If thou hast become great after having been little. . . . harden not thy heart. . . . *Thou art only become the steward of the good things of God.*"

"The obedience of a docile son is a blessing. . . . The son who accepts the word of his father will attain to old age, for obedience is of God. . . . I have myself in this way become one of the ancients of the earth; I have passed one hundred and ten years of life."

31. From a Hymn by King Khuniatonu, fifteenth century B.C., in worship of Aten the Sun-disk, symbol of God. (Given in full in Petrie's *Egypt,* II. 211–218.)

"Thy appearing is beautiful in the horizon of heaven,
O living Aten, the beginning of life! . . .
Thou fillest every land with thy beauty.
Thy beams encompass all lands which thou hast made.
Thou bindest them with thy love. . . .
The birds fly in their haunts —
Their wings adoring thee. . . .
The small bird in the egg, sounding within the shell —
Thou givest it breath within the egg. . . .

How many are the things which thou hast made!
Thou createst the land by thy will, thou alone,
With peoples, herds, and flocks. . . .
Thou givest to every man his place, thou framest his life."

32. From a Dialogue between an Egyptian and his Soul (*Berlin Papyrus*, quoted in Maspero's *Dawn of Civilization*, 399).

"I say to myself every day: As is the convalescence of a sick person, who goes to the court after his affliction, such is death. . . . I say to myself every day: As is the inhaling of the scent of a perfume, such is death. . . . I say to myself every day: As a road which passes over the flood of inundation, as a man who goes as a soldier whom nothing resists, such is death. . . . I say to myself every day: As the clearing again of the sky, as a man who goes out to catch birds with a net and suddenly finds himself in an unknown district, such is death."

33. From the Address by the Ghost in the Book of the Dead. — "I live upon loaves, white wheat, beer, red wheat. . . . Place me with vases of milk and wine, with cakes and loaves, and plenty of meat, in the dwelling of Anubis [the tomb]."

"Grant to me the funeral food, the drinks, the oxen, the geese, the fabrics, the incense, the oil, and all the good and pure things upon which the gods live."

34. From a Writer of the Time of Rameses II., fourteenth century B.C., in pity of the miseries of the Fellahin.

"Dost thou not recall the picture of the farmer, when the tenth of his grain is levied? Worms have destroyed half of the wheat, and the hippopotami have eaten the rest; there are swarms of rats in the fields, the grasshoppers alight there, the cattle devour, the little birds pilfer, and if the farmer lose sight for an instant of what remains upon the ground, it is carried off by robbers; the thongs, moreover, which bind the iron and the hoe are worn out, and the team has died at the plough. It is then that the scribe steps out of the boat at the landing-place to levy the tithe, and there come the keepers of the doors of the granary with cudgels and the negroes with ribs of palm-leaves, crying: 'Come now, corn!' There is none, and they throw the cultivator full length upon the ground; bound, dragged to the canal, they fling him in head first [probably a figurative way of saying that he was forced to work out his tax on the canals]; his wife is bound with him, his children are put into chains; the neighbors, in the meantime, leave him and fly to save their grain."

35. Strikes among the Egyptians (adapted from the account in Maspero's *Struggle of the Nations*, 539–541).

"Rations were allowed each workman at the end of every month; but, from the usual Egyptian lack of forethought, these were often consumed long before the next assignment. Such an event was usually followed by a strike. On one occasion we are shown the workmen turning to the overseer, saying: 'We are perishing of hunger, and there are still eighteen days before the next month.' The latter makes profuse promises; but, when nothing comes of them, the workmen will not listen to him longer. They leave their work, and gather in a public meeting. The overseer hastens after them, and the police commissioners of the locality and the scribes mingle with them, urging upon the leaders a return. But the workmen only say: 'We will not return. Make it clear to your superiors down below there.' The official who reports the matter to the authorities afterwards, seems to think the complaints well founded, for he says, 'We went to hear them, and they spoke true words to us.'"

36. A Modern Impression.

"Two vast and trunkless legs of stone
Stand in the desert. Near them, on the sand,
Half-sunk, a shattered visage lies.
. . . . . .
And on the pedestal, these words appear:
'My name is Ozymandias, king of kings.
Look on my works, Ye Mighty, and despair!'
Nothing beside remains. Round the decay
Of that colossal wreck, boundless and bare,
The lone and level sands stretch far away." — Shelley.

For Further Reading. — Maspero's *Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria*, and *Egyptian Archaeology*, or, by the same author, *Dawn of Civilization;* Rawlinson's *Ancient Egypt* (somewhat out of date, but very readable), and his *Egypt*, in the *Stories of the Nations* series.

For advanced students: *Records of the Past* (edited by Sayce); Petrie's *Egypt*, *Ten Years' Digging in Egypt*, and *Religion and Conscience in Egypt;* Maspero's *Struggle of the Nations*, and *The Passing of the Empires*.

For the vexed question of Egyptian chronology, see, preferably, Petrie's *Egypt*, I. 248–254. A margin of a hundred years must be allowed for error in the early period, and dates are given in round numbers until the

Assyrian conquest (672 B.C.). Mr. Cecil Torr, *Memphis and Mycenae* (1896), argues for much later dates; but, so far, Egyptian scholars pay little attention to him.

At the publication of this volume, the recent discoveries of the remains of the first three dynasties have not been treated fully in any publication available for high schools; an interesting sketch may be found in the *Atlantic* for October, 1900.

Topics for Reports or Papers.—1. The pyramids. 2. Sacred animals. 3. What can be learned regarding occupations, manners, etc., from the illustrations in books upon Egypt. 4. Sports in Egypt. 5. Daily life. 6. Corvées in ancient and modern Egypt. 7. Ancient irrigation system, including an account of Lake Moeris. 8. Irrigation system under English rule (see Milner's *England in Egypt*, 280–322).

CHAPTER III.

THE TIGRIS-EUPHRATES STATES.

I. UNITY OF THE EAST AFTER 1600 B.C.

37. About 1600 B.C. the reaction against the Hyksos conquest had carried the Egyptians, in turn, into Asia (§ 18 c). There, just across the isthmus, they came upon a new civilization, whose original home they reached, after many campaigns, on the banks of another great stream strangely like the river of Egypt.

For nearly half all recorded time the two civilizations had been developing in isolation. The Asiatic was possibly the earlier; certainly it had spread more rapidly, and was already dominant from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean.[1] The African invasion now brought the two into contact, and so marks an era. Isolated developments gave way to one great civilization — with several and shifting centers, it is true, but with these centers closely bound together. Western Asia became covered with a network of roads, garrisoned at important points by fortresses; and along these roads, from the Nile to the Euphrates, there hurried for centuries incessant streams of merchants, couriers, diplomats, and travelers.

II. GEOGRAPHY.

38. The Two Rivers. — A mighty desert stretches across Asia from the Red to the Yellow Sea. Its smaller and western part, a series of low, sandy plains, is really a continua-

[1] Very recent excavations strengthen the theory that the Nile civilization itself was derived from that of the Euphrates; but, if so, all connection had long been lost when history began. See Sayce's "Introduction" to Maspero's *Passing of the Nations.*

tion of the African desert; the eastern, or truly Asiatic, portion consists of lofty, arid plateaus traversed by rugged mountains. The two parts are divided by a patch of luxuriant vegetation reaching away from the Persian Gulf to the northwest. This oasis is the work of the Tigris and Euphrates. These rivers have never impressed men as has the more mysterious Nile, but they have played a hardly less important part in human history. Rising on opposite sides of the snow-capped Armenian mountains, they approach each other by great sweeps until they form a common valley, and then they flow in parallel channels for the greater part of their course. The land between them has always been named from them: the Jews called it "Syria of the Two Rivers"; the Greeks, Mesopotamia, or the "Between-Rivers" country; the modern Arabian inhabitants, "The Island"; while anciently the Euphrates itself bore the fitting name, "Soul of the Land."

39. Natural and Political Divisions. — This valley falls into three distinct parts, two of which are of special importance.

Chaldea. — The lower portion consists of alluvial deposits carried out in the course of ages into the Persian Gulf. In area it equals modern Denmark, and is over twice the size of the real Egypt. Like Egypt, its fertility in ancient times was maintained largely by an annual overflow, regulated by dikes, canals, and reservoirs. Wheat and barley (which still grow wild in the abandoned bottoms near the mouth of the Euphrates) are believed to have been indigenous here; certainly it was from Chaldea that their cultivation spread west to Europe. Herodotus (writing in the fifth century B.C.) says: —

"Of all countries that we know there is none so fruitful in grain. The yield commonly is two hundred fold and sometimes three hundred fold.[1]

[1] Herodotus, I. 193. The statement is supported by other observers. A Minnesota farmer sows two bushels of wheat to the acre; two hundred fold would mean a crop not of fifteen or eighteen, but of four hundred bushels. That of course is an impossibility. The statement of Herodotus can hold good only on the supposition that a very thin sowing was enough — a half bushel or less to the acre.

The leaves of the wheat and barley are four fingers wide. As for the millet and sesame, I will not state their height, for I am sure I should not be believed by those who have not lived in that country."

The blade of the wheat was so luxuriant, other writers tell us, that it was customary to mow the fields twice and then turn in cattle to crop it off, so as to make it ear.

The Euphrates valley has lost its ancient fertility, of which we know only from these statements of the Greeks. During the last few centuries, under Turkish rule, the last vestiges of the ancient engineering works have gone to ruin. As a result, in this early home of human culture the uncontrolled overflow of the river now turns the eastern districts into a dreary marsh; while on the west the desert sands have drifted in to cover the most fertile soil in the world, and the sites of scores of mighty cities are only shapeless mounds, that look at first like natural hills, where nomad Arabs camp for a night.

Assyria. — To the north, the alluvial plain rises to a broad and rugged tableland. The more fertile portion lay on the eastern, or Tigris side, and was about three times the extent of Chaldea. Here clustered many cities which were finally to be combined into the monarchy of Assyria.

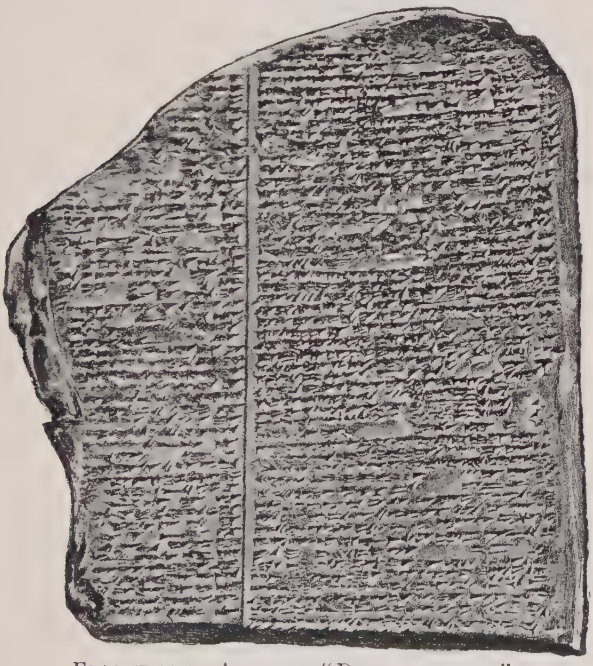
Mesopotamia Proper. — The northwestern portion of the valley — to which part the name of Mesopotamia is sometimes especially applied — was less fertile and of little political importance; but at its extreme limit this district opened upon the northern parts of Syria — the middle land destined to fall to the Nile or to the Euphrates as the prize of war.

III. POLITICAL HISTORY.

40. The First Chaldean Empire. — Three empires rose in turn in this double valley: two in the south, with the center at *Babylon* on the Euphrates; and, between the periods of their rule, a greater one in the north, with *Nineveh* on the Tigris for its capital. The later Chaldean scholars filled the gaps in their knowledge of their country's early history with fabulous

annals reaching back seven hundred thousand years; but these stories are of interest only for an account of a creation and deluge similar to that in the Hebrew Genesis.[1]

The earliest historical date is that of Sargon the Elder, about 3800 B.C.[2] At this time Chaldea comprised many powerful cities, each a separate state striving for leadership. One of



FRAGMENT OF ASSYRIAN "DELUGE-TABLET."

the most ancient capitals was Ur, in the south, the home of Abraham in later times. About 2400 B.C. the political center moved up the valley to Babylon — the Chaldean Thebes. Indeed, Babylon soon attained a preëminence never secured

[1] See Maspero's *Dawn of Civilization*, 565–572.

[2] Recent excavations have established the reality of this sovereign, who, until lately, has been considered mythical.

in Egypt by any one city, and its name has been ever since a symbol for "vague magnificence and undefined dominion."

When Babylon had centralized Chaldea, her power spread rapidly over the rest of Mesopotamia, and, before 2000 B.C., over Syria to the Mediterranean. For several centuries afterward the fashions of the Chaldean capital, in costumes and cosmetics, were copied in the cities of Syria, and her complex cuneiform script was used and her extensive literature was read by great numbers of people all over Western Asia.

41. Assyria. — Assyria appeared as a dependent province of Babylon in the nineteenth century. About 1300 B.C., the northern country temporarily became the mistress, but the next two centuries were filled with struggles between the two rivals. During this time Egypt was still supreme in southern Syria, though she had lost the north to the Hittites, a strange people who had descended from the Taurus Mountains. Finally, about 1100 B.C., the Assyrian king, *Tiglath-Pileser I.*, shattered the Hittite power and probably extended his sway to the sea; but for some centuries more the rule of Assyria in Western Asia was subject to frequent eclipse. In 745 B.C., however, the adventurer Pul, originally a gardener, seized the throne, and, assuming the name of the first great conqueror, *Tiglath-Pileser (II.)*, founded the real Assyrian Empire. This was soon to become the greatest state that the world had seen so far, and it represented a higher organization of government than anything that had gone before (§ 74). *Sargon II.* (722 B.C.) carried away the Ten Tribes of Israel into captivity and reduced Egypt to a tributary state. *This was the second complete political union of the East* (§ 18). Sargon's son, *Sennacherib*, is the most famous Assyrian monarch. He subdued the revolted king of Judah,[1] but he will be better remembered from the Jewish account of a mysterious destruction of his army in a second expedition — smitten by "the angel of

[1] 2 Kings xviii., and the Assyrian story in this volume, § 51; Maspero's *Passing of the Empires*, 289–295, gives a full modern version.

the Lord." This is the incident commemorated by Byron's lines: —

> "The Assyrian came down like a wolf on the fold,
> His cohorts were gleaming with purple and gold;
> . . . . . .
> Like leaves of the forest when autumn hath blown,
> That host, on the morrow, lay withered and strown."

Curiously enough, contemporary Assyrian history makes no mention of this reverse. The empire certainly recovered quickly, and the later part of Sennacherib's rule marks the height of Assyrian power. Thirty years later, Egypt revolted; twenty years more, and Babylon followed; then devastating Scythian hordes poured in from the north; and in 606 B.C. the new power of the Medes, aided by Babylonia, captured Nineveh itself. The Assyrian Empire disappeared, and the proud "city of blood," which had razed so many other cities, was given over to sack and pillage. Two hundred years later the Greek Xenophon could not even learn the name of the crumbling ruins, when he came upon them. At last all signs of human habitation disappeared, and the very site was forgotten until its rediscovery in recent times.[1]

42. The New Babylonian Empire. — Babylon had broken out in many a fierce revolt during the six centuries of subjection to the northern state, and Sennacherib declares that on one occasion he razed it to the ground in punishment: —

> "I laid the houses waste from foundation to roof with fire. Temple and tower I tore down and threw into the canal. I dug ditches through the city, and laid waste its site. Greater than the deluge was its annihilation."

In 625 came the successful rebellion; and then Babylonia and Media soon shared between them the old Assyrian Empire. This last chapter of Babylonian life was to last less than a century. The middle half of the period, and

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[1] Cf. Isaiah xiii. 19–22, and Jeremiah l. and li., with Layard's *Nineveh*, 484.

nearly all of its glories, fall to the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, (604–561 B.C.). Rebellious Jerusalem was sacked, and the Jews carried into the Babylonian captivity; the ancient limits of the Chaldean Empire were restored, and the ancient architectural glories and engineering works renewed. But in 538 Babylon fell before the Persians (§ 69), and empire passed from the Euphrates valley until the rise of the Mohammedan state at Bagdad, thirteen hundred years later.

IV. SOCIETY AND CULTURE.

43. Races.—The first inhabitants of Chaldea whom we can trace were already a mixed race, called Accadians. After reaching some civilization, they were conquered at an early date by a less cultivated people, speaking a Semitic language. The union of the two elements made the historic Chaldeans. Assyria was more purely Semitic. This difference in origin may have had something to do with the fact that the quick-witted Babylonians made their country such a hive of industry and were so fond of letters and other peaceful pursuits; while the hook-nosed, larger-framed, fiercer men of northern Mesopotamia cared mainly for war and commerce, and possessed only a borrowed art and literature.

44. Cuneiform Writing.—The early Accadian inhabitants had a system of hieroglyphs not unlike the Egyptian. These they painted at first on the leaves of the papyrus, which grew in the Euphrates as well as in the Nile; at a later time they came to cut the characters with a metal "stylus" in clay tablets, which were then baked. This change of material led to a change in the written characters themselves. The pictures shriveled and flattened into conventionalized, wedge-shaped ("cuneiform") symbols, that look like scattered nails with curiously battered heads. The Semitic conquerors adapted this writing to their language; and in Assyria the complex

figures were written in such minute characters — six lines to an inch sometimes — that some authorities believe magnifying

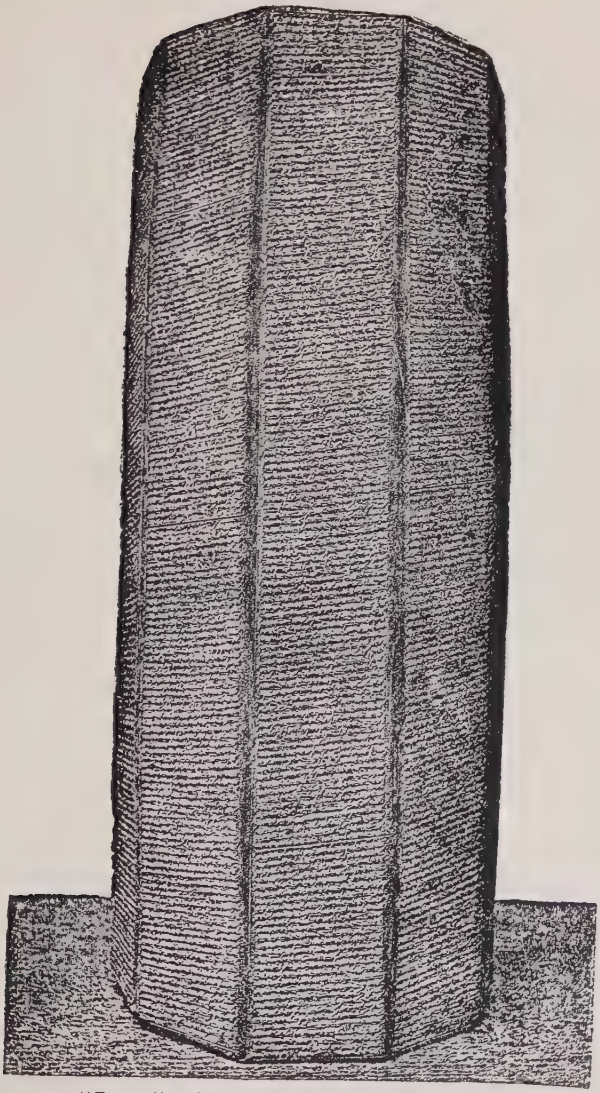
Assyrian Tablet, showing older hieroglyphics and the later cuneiform equivalents (apparently for purpose of instruction).

glasses must have been used, — a surmise that was strengthened when the explorer Layard found a lens among the ruins of the Nineveh library.

45. Literature and Science. — In bulk the remains of this literature are immense. Each of the numerous cities that studded the valley of the twin rivers had its library — sometimes several of them — of clay tablets or bricks. Originally the libraries contained papyrus rolls also, but these the climate has utterly destroyed. In Babylon the ruins of one library contains over thirty thousand tablets, of about the date 2700 B.C., all neatly arranged in order. A tablet, with its condensed writing, corresponded fairly well to a chapter in one of our books. Each had its library number stamped upon it, and the collections were carefully catalogued. The kings prided themselves on keeping the collections open to the public; and Professor Sayce is sure that "a considerable portion of the inhabitants (including many women) could read and write."[1] The literary class studied the "dead" Accadian language, as we study Latin, and the whole diplomatic and trading classes were obliged to know some of the contemporary Syrian languages. The libraries contained dictionaries and grammars of these languages, and also many translations, in columns parallel with the originals. Scribes were constantly employed in copying and editing ancient texts, and they seem to have been scrupulous in their work; when they could not make out a word in an ancient copy, they tell us so and leave the space blank.

In character, however, the Chaldean literature for the most part seems to a modern "a heap of pretentious trash," partly because it is so infused with reference to magic of all kinds, and partly because it has little in common with our modes of thought. It does, however, contain evidence of remarkable

[1] For the evidence, see his *Social Life among the Babylonians*, 41–43. "The ancient civilized East was almost as full of literary activity as is the world of to-day," adds the same eminent scholar, in rather an extreme statement. *Ib.* 43.

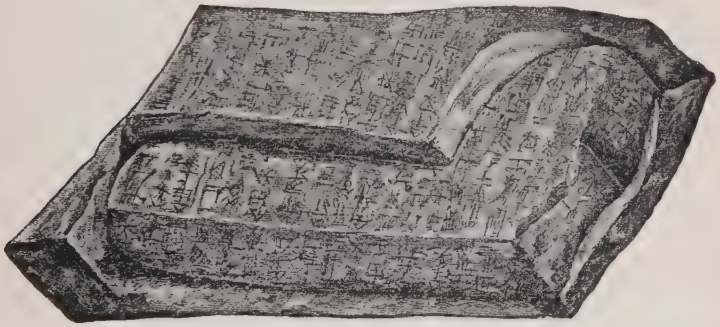


An Assyrian "Book."—An octagon Assyrian brick, now in the British Museum; after Sayce. This representation is about one third the real size.

advance in science and in commercial law. In *Geometry* the Chaldeans made about the same progress as the Egyptians; in *Arithmetic* more. Their notation combined the decimal and duodecimal systems. Sixty was a favorite unit (divisible by both ten and twelve), used as the hundred is by us. Scientific *Medicine* was hindered by the belief in charms and amulets; and even *Astronomy* was studied chiefly as a means of fortune-telling by the stars, — so that in Europe through the Middle Ages an astrologer was known as a Chaldean. However, the level plains and clear skies, as in Egypt, invited to an early study of the constellations, and some important progress was made. As we get from the Egyptians our year and months, so from the Chaldeans we get the week, with its "day of rest for the soul," as they called the seventh day, and the division of day and night into twelve hours each, with the subdivisions into minutes. They also invented the water clock and the sundial. They foretold eclipses, made star maps, and marked out on the heavens the apparent yearly path of the sun. The zodiacal "signs" of our almanacs commemorate these early astronomers. Every great city had its lofty observatory and its royal astronomer; and in Babylon, in 331 B.C., Alexander the Great found a continuous series of observations running back nineteen hundred and three years.

46. The Industrial Arts and Applied Science. — To a degree peculiar among the ancients, the men of the Euphrates made practical use of their science. They understood the lever and pulley, and used the arch in vaulted drains and aqueducts. They invented the potter's wheel, and an excellent system of weights and measures. Their treatises on agriculture passed on their knowledge in that subject to the later Greeks and Arabs. They had surpassing skill in cutting gems, and in enameling and inlaying; and their looms produced the finest of muslins and of fleecy woolens, to which the dyer gave the most brilliant colors. In many such industries little advance has been made since, so far as results are concerned.

47. Social Classes and Relations. — At the top, as in Egypt, was a despotic monarch ruling through a large body of privileged officials; at the bottom, a hopeless mass of peasantry and slaves. The noble aristocracy of Egypt had no counterpart. Between the two extremes in Chaldea came a middle class of artisans, and of the educated and mercantile elements. Wealth counted for more, and birth apparently for less, than in Egypt. The merchant was a prominent figure. Even the extensive wars of Assyria, especially in the second period, cruel as they were, were no doubt essentially commercial in purpose — to secure the trade of Syria and Phoenicia, and to ruin rival trade



Assyrian Contract Tablet in Duplicate. — The outer tablet is broken and shows part of the inner original, which could always be consulted if the outside was thought to have been tampered with.

centers. Deeds, wills, marriage settlements, legal contracts of all kinds, of which tens of thousands still survive, witness to the careful attention paid to business arrangements. The numerous signatures of witnesses, in a variety of "hand writings," testify also to a widespread ability to write the difficult cuneiform text. From these contracts we learn that a woman could control property and carry on business independently of her husband; but in other respects her position was not as enviable as in Egypt.

Assyrian royalty may well stand as a type of Oriental despotism. The person of the king was surrounded with every-

thing that could give elevation and charm to the eyes of the masses. Extraordinary magnificence and splendor removed him from the vulgar crowd. He gave audience seated on a golden throne, covered by a purple canopy, which was supported by pillars glittering with precious stones. All who came into his presence prostrated themselves in the dust until bidden to rise.

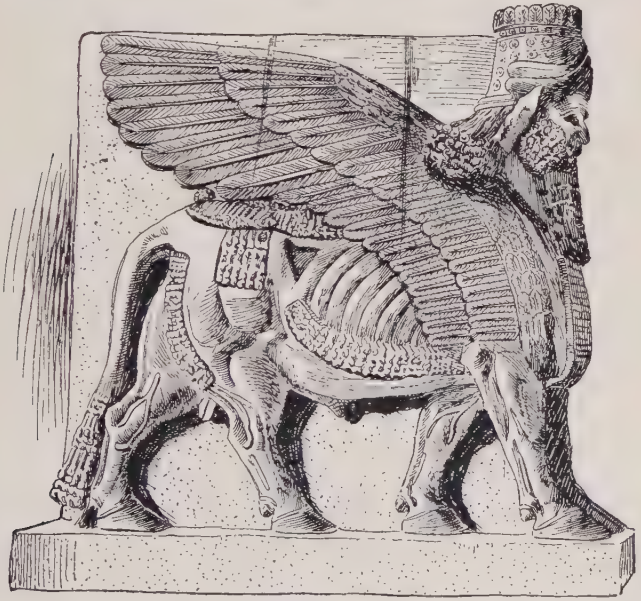
48. Architecture and Sculpture. — The southern valley was destitute of building stone; but, with only their sun-dried bricks, the Babylonians constructed the marvelous tower-temples and the elevated gardens in imitation of mountain scenery, that called forth the admiration of the ancients. These "Hanging Gardens" were built in successive terraces to a height of one hundred or one hundred and fifty feet, and were counted by the Greeks among the "seven wonders of the world."

But in architecture and in sculpture, though in no other arts, Assyria, the land of stone, excelled the land of brick. The untrammeled power of the monarchs, and their Oriental passion for splendor and color, produced a sumptuous magnificence that the more restrained modern world probably never equals. The following description of a palace of ancient Nineveh is from Dr. J. K. Hosmer's *The Jews*. The passage is partly condensed and adapted.

"Upon a huge, wide-spreading, artificial hill, faced with masonry, for a platform, rose cliff-like fortress walls a hundred feet more, wide enough for three chariots abreast and with frequent towers shooting up to a still loftier height. Sculptured portals, by which stood silent guardians, colossal figures in white alabaster, the forms of men and beasts, winged and of majestic mien, admitted to the magnificence within. . . . Upward, tier above tier, into the blue heavens, ran lines of colonnades, pillars of costly cedar, cornices glittering with gold, capitals blazing with vermilion, and between them voluminous curtains of silk, purple, and scarlet, interwoven with threads of gold. . . . In the interior, stretching for miles, literally for miles, the builder of the palace ranged the illustrated record of his exploits. The inscriptions were deeply cut in the cuneiform character; and parallel with them, in scarlet and green, gold and silver,

ran the representation of the scenes themselves. . . . The mind grows dizzy with the thought of the splendor — the processions of satraps and eunuchs and tributary kings, winding up the stairs, and passing in a radiant stream through the halls — the gold and embroidery, the ivory and the sumptuous furniture, the pearls and the hangings."

49. Religion and Morality. — The worship of the dead has left plain traces. Each tomb had an altar at the head for



Colossal Man-beast in Alabaster, from the Palace of Sargon (now in the Louvre).

offerings of food; with a man were buried his arms; with a girl, her scent bottles, combs, ornaments, and cosmetics. Mingled with this worship, as in Egypt, and as one learns to expect among all early peoples, was a nature worship, with numerous gods and demigods. The usual accompaniment of ancestor worship is a belief in witchcraft and in unfriendly ghosts and demons. In Chaldea these superstitions appeared

in an exaggerated form. Indeed, the medieval representations of the devil, with horns, hoofs, and tail, came from the Babylonians, through the Jewish Talmud. Nature worship, too, in its lower stages, is often accompanied by debasing and licentious rites, in which drunkenness and sensuality appear as acts of religious worship. In Babylonia such revolting features remained throughout her history. At the same time, some hymns and prayers rise to a pure monotheism; and the Assyrian felt strongly that sense of sin which the Egyptian lacked and which has played so great a part in the Jewish and Christian religions (§ 50). Along with the early belief in a shadowy existence of the ghost in the tomb, was another conception of a future life — for some, in a hell of tortures and pains; for others, who knew how to secure the divine favor, of pleasures and happiness in distant Isles of the Blest.

In character the voluptuous Babylonians were gentle. The warlike Assyrians delighted in cruelty, and their kings brag incessantly of torturing, flaying, and impaling great numbers of prisoners (§ 53).

V. ILLUSTRATIVE EXTRACTS.

50. From an Assyrian Prayer for Remission of Sins. — "O my god, my sins are many! . . . O my goddess, . . . great are my misdeeds! I have committed faults and I knew them not. I have fed upon misdeeds and I knew them not. . . . I weep and no one comes to me; I cry aloud and no one hears me; . . . I sink under affliction. I turn to my merciful god and I groan, Lord, reject not thy servant, — and if he is hurled into the roaring waters, stretch to him thy hand! The sins I have committed, have mercy upon them! my faults, tear them to pieces like a garment!"

51. From a Chaldean Hymn, composed in the city of Ur, before the time of Abraham.

"Father, long suffering and full of forgiveness, whose hand upholds the life of all mankind! . . .

First-born, omnipotent, whose heart is immensity, and there is none who may fathom it! . . .

In heaven, who is supreme? Thou alone, thou art supreme!
On earth, who is supreme? Thou alone, thou art supreme!
As for thee, thy will is made known in heaven, and the angels bow their faces.
As for thee, thy will is made known upon earth, and the spirits below kiss the ground."

52. From a Prayer of Nebuchadnezzar. — "Let me love thy supreme lordship; let the fear of thy divinity exist in my heart; and give me what seemest good unto thee, since thou maintainest my life."

53. Assyrian Cruelty in War. — From an inscription of Assur-Natsir-Pal, about 850 B.C. (The inscriptions in full are given in *Records of the Past,* II.)

"They did not embrace my feet. With combat and with slaughter I attacked the city and captured it; three thousand of their fighting men I slew with the sword. Their spoil, their goods, their oxen, and their sheep I carried away. The numerous captives I burned with fire. I captured many of the soldiers alive. I cut off the hands and feet of some; I cut off the noses, the ears, and the fingers of others; the eyes of the numerous soldiers I put out. I built up a pyramid of the living and a pyramid of heads. In the middle of them I suspended their heads on vine stems in the neighborhood of their city. Their young men and their maidens I burned as a holocaust. The city I overthrew, dug up, and burned with fire. I annihilated it."

Of another city: "The nobles, as many as had revolted, I flayed; with their skins I covered the pyramid. Some of them I immured in the midst of the pyramid; others above the pyramid I impaled on stakes; others round about the pyramid I planted on stakes."

54. Sennacherib's Account of his Expedition against Jerusalem (Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies,* II. 161–162).

"Because Hezekiah, king of Judah, would not submit to my yoke, I came up against him. . . . I took forty-six of his strong fenced cities; and of the smaller towns . . . I took and plundered a countless number. . . . I captured and carried off as spoil 200,150 people, old and young, male and female, together with horses and mares, asses and camels, oxen and sheep, a countless multitude. And Hezekiah himself I shut up in Jerusalem, his capital city, like a bird in a cage, building towers round the city to hem him in, and raising banks of earth against the gates. . . . Then upon this Hezekiah there fell the fear of the power of my arms, and

he sent out to me the chiefs and the elders of Jerusalem with thirty talents of gold and eight hundred talents of silver, and divers treasures, a rich and immense booty."

55. From a Cylinder of Narbonidos, 500 B.C. — Narbonidos, with antiquarian zeal, had excavated an ancient temple to find the cylinder of its founder (*Records of the Past*, I. 5–6).

"I sought for its old foundation-stone, and eighteen cubits deep
I dug into the ground, and the foundation-stone of Naram-Sin, the son of Sargon,
Which for thirty-two hundred years no king who had gone before me had seen,
The Sun-god, the great lord of E-Barbara, the temple of the seat of the goodness of his heart, let me see, even me."

For Further Reading. — Sayce, *Babylonians and Assyrians; Assyria, its Princes, Priests, and People; Social Life among the Assyrians and Babylonians; Ancient Empires;* Rogers, *Babylonia and Assyria;* Maspero, *Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria, Dawn of Civilization, Struggle of the Nations,* and *Passing of the Empires;* Rawlinson, *Ancient Empires* (readable, but rapidly going out of date); Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon.* Advanced students will find an admirable treatment in McCurdy's *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments.*

Topics. — 1. Assyrian numeration. 2. Babylonian architecture. 3. The Hanging Gardens of Babylon. 4. The siege of Babylon by Cyrus. 5. The daily life of an Assyrian.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MIDDLE STATES.

56. The most powerful Syrian state was the strange Hittite Empire which appeared suddenly about 1300 B.C., and contended on equal terms for two centuries with Egypt and Assyria. We know little about it, however, and its chief function seems to have been to break up for a time the political unity of the East, and so to prepare the way for the rise of the Jewish nation.

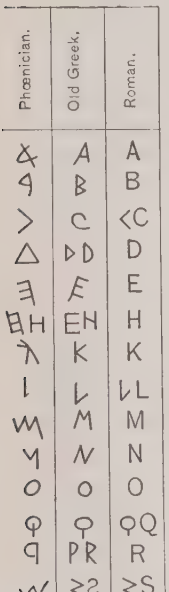
The two Syrian peoples that demand notice here are the Phoenicians and the Hebrews. Each of these was to make a distinct and important factor in the development of civilization.

I. THE PHOENICIANS.

57. The First Men who went down to the Sea in Ships. — The position of Chaldea at the head of the Persian Gulf was advantageous for commerce, and Babylonia, in early times, had been a mart of exchange between Syria and the frontiers of India. But long before the year 1000 B.C. the Phoenicians so far surpassed these early traders, that we think of their country as the first land of commerce. To them the Mediterranean was all that the Nile was to the Egyptians. They dwelt on a little strip of broken coast, shut off from the continent by the Lebanon Mountains; the many harbors invited them seaward, and the "cedar of Lebanon" furnished the best of masts and ship timber. When history first reveals the Mediterranean, about 1600 B.C., it is dotted with their adventurous sails, and for centuries more they are the only real sailor folk. Half traders, half pirates, their crews crept from island port

to port, to barter with the natives or to sweep them off for slaves, as strength and opportunity might advise. Farther and farther they sought wealth on the sea, until they passed even the Pillars of Hercules, into the open Atlantic, and until at last we see them exchanging the tin of Britain, the amber of the Baltic, and the slaves and ivory of West Africa, for the spices, gold, and precious stones of India.

58. Disseminators of Civilization and Inventors of the Alphabet. — The Phoenicians were the first colonizers — the precursors of the Greeks, Dutch, and English. They fringed the larger islands and the shores of the Mediterranean with trading stations, some of which themselves grew into centers of empire, and all of which were centers of civilization. Carthage, Utica, Gades (Cadiz on the Atlantic), were among their colonies. They worked tin mines, too, in Colchis, in Spain, and finally in Britain, and so made possible the manufacture of bronze on a large scale to replace stone implements in Asia and in Egypt, while they probably introduced this material into many parts of Europe. Articles of their manufacture or commerce are found in great abundance in the ancient tombs of the Greek and Italian peninsulas — the earliest European homes of civilization. Thus in the most selfish, but most effective, way the Phoenicians became the missionaries to Europe of the material culture that Asia and Africa had developed. It was their function in history not to create, but to disseminate. Especially did they teach the Greeks, the teachers of the rest of Europe.



PARTS OF ALPHABETS.

Their chief export, some one has said, was the alphabet; and this in a sense they seem to have invented. When the

Egyptians conquered Syria the Phoenicians were using the Babylonian cuneiform script, with its hundreds of difficult characters. It was natural that, for the necessities of their widespread commerce, they should seek a simpler mode of communication; and about 1100 B.C., after a gap of four centuries in our knowledge of their writing, we find them with a true alphabet of twenty-two easily-written letters. They seem to have adapted these from the phonetic symbols intermingled with the Egyptian hieroglyphs (§ 25). From this first alphabet all the other true alphabets in the world have been borrowed, — Persian, Hindoo, and Hebrew, and Greek and Latin. It is one invention that has not had to be made twice.[1]

59. Political and Social Conditions. — Important as was the part they played, the Phoenicians in themselves do not interest us particularly. They spoke a Semitic tongue, and were, perhaps, allied to the Jews; but their religion was especially abhorrent, prominent as it was, even among the Syrian peoples, for the licentious features connected with the worship of Astarte (the Moon-Goddess), and for the cruel sacrifice of the first-born child to Baal (the Sun-God). Their loose confederacies of cities were grouped about Sidon or Tyre as leaders, but they never formed a real state, nor did they try to organize an empire of dependencies, as their colony Carthage was to do in Roman times. Satisfied with their freedom on the sea, they submitted easily, as a rule, to any powerful neighbor, — Assyria or Egypt, — quite content with the profits of the trade thereby opened to them. As tributaries, they sent workmen to construct the magnificent buildings of Assyria or to develop the mines of Egypt, and they furnished the fleets of either empire in turn. They were to these ancient empires what the Italian cities were to be to the monarchies of Europe in the fifteenth century. Tyre remained a mercantile capital under Persian supremacy, until its capture by Alexander (332 B.C.). From this downfall the proud city never recovered, and fisher-

[1] But cf. § 87, note 2.

men now spread their nets to dry in the sun on the bare rock that formed its site.

Ezekiel (xxvi., xxvii.) describes the exaltation of Tyre in noble poetry that teaches us much regarding Phoenician trade and life: —

"O thou that dwellest at the entry of the sea, which art the merchant of the peoples unto many isles, . . . thou, O Tyre, hast said, I am perfect in beauty. Thy borders are in the heart of the seas; thy builders have perfected thy beauty. They have made all thy planks of fir trees. . . . They have taken cedars from Lebanon to be masts for thee; they have made thy benches of ivory inlaid in boxwood from the isles of Kittim [Kition in Cyprus]. Of fine linen with broidered work from Egypt was thy sail, . . . blue and purple from the isles of Elishah [North Africa] was thy awning. . . . All the ships of the sea were in thee to exchange thy merchandise. . . . Tarshish [Tartessus, southwestern Spain] was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of all kinds of riches. With silver, iron, tin, and lead they traded for thy wares. Javan [Greek Ionia], Tubal, and Mesheck [the lands of the Black and Caspian seas], they were thy traffickers. . . . They of the house of Togarmah [Armenia] traded for thy wares with horses and mules. . . . The men of Dedan were thy traffickers. Many isles were the mart of thy hands. They brought thee bones of ivory and of ebony. . . ."

Ezekiel names also Syria, Judah, Damascus, Vedan, Arabia and Kedar, Sheba and Raamah, and other "traffickers," and, likewise, among the articles of exchange, emeralds, coral, rubies, wheat, honey, oil, balm, wine, wool, yarn, spices, lambs, and goats.

The prophet gives us this picture to throw into darker colors his stern and terrible denunciation because Tyre had rejoiced at the fall of Jerusalem, a commercial rival.

"Therefore thus saith the Lord God: Behold I am against thee, O Tyre, and will cause many nations to come up against thee, as the sea causeth his waves to come up. And they shall destroy the walls of Tyre, . . . and . . . thy pleasant houses. . . . And I will cause the noise of thy songs to cease; and the sound of thy harps shall be no more heard. And I will make thee a bare rock: thou shalt be a place for the spreading of nets."

II. THE HEBREWS.

A. Political History.

60. Men of the Desert: the Age of the Patriarchs. — The Hebrews appear first as nomad shepherds on the edge of the Arabian desert. Abraham and Jacob, and other patriarchal chiefs of that time and place, probably lived and ruled much as Arab sheiks do in the same regions to-day.

This life was not altered materially, at first, when the Hebrews entered Egypt and settled in the fertile pasturage of Goshen, near the Red Sea, where flitting Arab tribes have ever been wont to encamp. The incursion took place while Egypt was ruled by the Hyksos nomads (§ 18 *b*). When the native Egyptian rule was restored by the Theban kings, "who knew not Joseph," the Hebrews were reduced to the position of serfs, until, taking advantage perhaps of the disorders of Egypt at the time of the great Libyan invasion (§ 18 *c*), they escaped to the neighboring desert, to resume for a time their old life.

61. Settlement in Canaan, and the Period of the Judges. — Apparently they were now a numerous people and had become accustomed to more fixed abodes. About 1300 B.C. they began to conquer Palestine for their home. Then followed two centuries of incessant, bloody warfare with their neighbors, some of whom had attained a much higher material civilization than these wandering invaders. During all this time the Hebrews remained a loose alliance of pastoral tribes. Such central authority as existed was represented by a succession of popular heroes like Samson, Jephthah, Gideon, and Samuel, known as Judges. Much of the time anarchy ruled, and bands of robbers drove travelers from the highways.

62. The Kings and Prophets. — Such conditions gradually brought out the need of more effective union. About 1100 B.C. a stronger central government was set up in the form of a monarchy, which soon became hereditary. Alongside the kings, however, stood religious teachers, known as prophets,

who, without official station, were also real rulers of the people, and who did not hesitate to rebuke or to oppose a sovereign. The second and third kings, David and Solomon (1055–975 B.C.), raised the state to the position of a considerable empire. The way had just been cleared. The Hittites had ruined the Egyptian power in Syria, and then in turn had been shattered by Tiglath-Pileser, while the Assyrian power itself, for reasons that we do not know, had been checked in its career (§ 41).

SYRIA.

63. Division and Decline. — The union had not become thorough, however, and on the death of Solomon, the northern ten of the twelve tribes, rebelling against heavy taxation, set up for themselves and formed the kingdom of Israel. The southern remnant, of two tribes, became known as the kingdom of Judah. The first of these kingdoms lasted two hundred and fifty years, until Sargon carried the Israelites into that Assyrian captivity in which they finally disappear from history (§ 41). Judah lasted four centuries after the separation, — most of the time, of course, tributary to Assyria or to Babylon, — until, in punishment for rebellion, Nebuchadnezzar carried away the people into the Babylonian captivity (§ 42).

64. The Priestly Rule. — This closed the separate political history of the Jews. The more zealous of them were allowed to return, it is true, when the Persians had conquered Babylon

(§§ 42 and 69), and in internal matters the priesthood from this time exercised a controlling voice; but politically Judea formed a strictly subject province of the Persian, Greek, or Roman empire, except for one gleam of independence, when the heroic Maccabees rebelled against the successors of Alexander in Syria (§ 250). A series of stubborn rebellions against Rome finally brought a terrible chastisement in the year 70 A.D. (§ 459 *a*). After a notable siege, Jerusalem was sacked and razed, and the remnant of inhabitants were sold into slavery, to remain dispersed among all lands to this day.

B. The Mission of the Jews.

65. The First Monotheistic People. — The Hebrews added nothing to material civilization, nor did they contribute directly to intellectual or artistic progress. Their work was higher. Their true history is a record of the spiritual growth of a people.

"If the Greek was to enlighten the world, if the Roman was to rule the world, if the Teuton was to be the common disciple and emissary of both, it was from the Hebrew that all were to learn the things that belong to another world." — Freeman, *Chief Periods*, 66.

Among other ancient nations, individuals had risen at times to noble religious thought, but the Hebrews first, as a whole people, felt strenuously the obligation of the moral law, and first attained to a pure worship of one God. Judaism, in one aspect, is a stern and austere protest against the revolting sensuality of neighboring religions; in a still higher view, it is marked by an almost passionate belief in the just government of the world and in the final triumph of righteousness.

66. The Influence of Race or Environment. — In experience and character the Hebrews were sharply distinguished from their Phoenician neighbors. The desert had trained these apostles of religious thought, as the sea had trained the traders. The religious fervor of the Jew does not seem to have been

merely a matter of race. The Semites of the coast and of Syria — many or all of them allied to the Hebrews — practiced the most cruel, revolting, sensual religious rites. Among the Semites of the desert, on the other hand, originated Judaism, and afterward Mohammedanism — two of the most spiritual of religions. Of course no one will try to explain these religions simply as products of physical surroundings, any more than simply as a result of race; but it is well to recognize how favorable to religious contemplation and enthusiasm were the solitude and the whole character of semi-tropical Arabian tent life.

67. Historical Growth of the Faith. — At first this religious insight and firm faith seems to have belonged to only a few — to the patriarchs and, centuries later, to the prophets, with a small following of the more spiritually-minded of the nation. For over a thousand years the grosser masses were always tending to fall away into the superstitions of their Syrian neighbors. It is the merit of the Hebrews that a remnant always clung to the higher truth, until it did become the universal faith of a whole people. No doubt the Babylonian captivity assisted. The energetic minority who found their way back to Judea, were indeed a "chosen" and sifted people, among whom there was to be no more tendency to idolatry. The faith of the patriarchs and prophets became the soul of a nation — as a later and higher development of that faith was to become the soul of our whole civilization.

This, then, was the mission of the Hebrews. As Renan well says (*History of Israel*, I. 22): "*What Greece was to be as regards intellectual culture, and Rome as regards politics, these nomad Semites were as regards religion.*" The Jews, therefore, are sometimes counted a fourth influence, with Greeks, Romans, and Teutons, in making our world (§ 3). But, however indispensable, Judaism was an exclusive religion, unfit of itself to affect the world; and the rise and spread of Christianity belong, after all, not solely to Jewish influence, but quite as much to the history of the Graeco-Roman world (§ 506).

For Further Reading. — Hebrew history, political and religious, must be studied, of course, in the Old Testament. The Jewish historian, *Josephus* (first century A.D.), may be read with profit, and also the *Talmud*, a collection of Jewish legends and customs. Modern authorities are numerous, but in general the valuable ones can be used only by advanced students. Among the shorter and better treatments are the following: A. H. Sayce, *Early History of the Hebrews;* J. K. Hosmer, *The Jews* (very readable; two thirds of the volume is given to Jewish history since the dispersion); Montefiore, *Hibbert Lectures for 1892* (the views of a liberal Hebrew scholar); McCurdy, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments* (probably the best view of the relations of the Hebrews to other peoples).

Special Report. — The *Talmud.*

CHAPTER V.

THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.[1]

I. THE MAP GROWS.

68. New States. — So far, we have had to do only with the territory described in § 12, — the Nile and Euphrates valleys, with Syria between them. But shortly before the overthrow of Babylon, two new centers of power appeared, one on either side of the older historic field. These were Persia and Lydia.

Lydia calls for only brief mention. It was a kingdom in Asia Minor beyond the limits of the Assyrian power, with which, however, it had had some intercourse, both friendly and hostile. Somewhat before 550 B.C., its sovereign, *Croesus*, united all Asia Minor west of the Halys River under his sway, and made the Lydian Empire for a brief time one of the great world-powers. The region was rich, especially in metals; and the wealth of this monarch so impressed the Greeks that we still say, after them, "Rich as Croesus." Croesus counted among his subjects the Greek cities that fringed the western coast of Asia Minor, at that time the most civilized of the Greek people; and through this connection the Greeks were to be brought immediately afterward into contact with the new Persian Empire (§ 69).

On the other side of the Euphrates and Tigris lay the lofty and, for the most part, arid plateau of Iran. This was the home of the *Medes and Persians*. The Medes dwelt toward the north; the Persians toward the south. The two were

[1] The preceding chapter, with its treatment of minor Syrian states, was a necessary interruption in the story of political development. We now return to that subject where we left it in Chapter III., at the fall of Babylon.

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closely connected, apparently, and both spoke Aryan languages (*i.e.* allied to Greek, Latin, and German speech). How this came about, history cannot say (§ 6, note 1). They appeared first, about 850 B.C., as fierce barbarians, whom the Assyrians found it needful to subdue and to castigate repeatedly.

69. Rise and Extent of the Persian Empire. — About 625 B.C. a Median leader united the tribes of the plateau into a monarchy able to defy, and finally (606 B.C.) to conquer, Assyria (§ 41). For some fifty years after that, the world with which we are concerned remained at peace, divided between Babylon, Egypt, Lydia, and this new Median empire. Then *Cyrus the Great* (558–529 B.C.), a tributary Persian prince, by successful rebellion against the Medes, transferred leadership to the southern part of the plateau, and quickly built up the largest and most powerful empire known up to that time in all history. His overthrow of Media involved war with her allies. The fall of Babylon (§ 42) left him no rival in the old Asia; he conquered Croesus of Lydia and seized upon all Asia Minor; and a few years later his son subdued Egypt. Thus the new empire included all the old historic states, together with the new districts of Iran and Asia Minor.

And now again the field of history widens. The first four Persian kings added further to their empire: on the north, Armenia; on the east, Afghanistan and northwestern India (the rich Punjab district in the valley of the Indus); and, on the west, the European coast from the Black Sea to the Greek peninsula. The eastern and western frontiers were farther apart than Washington and San Francisco, and the territory of some two million square miles (four times as large as the greatest Assyrian Empire) equaled a little more than half modern Europe, or nearly two thirds the United States, and contained from fifty to seventy-five millions of people. It was bounded on the south by seas and burning deserts; on the north by the barren steppes of Europe and Asia, from which it was separated by the Danube, the Black and Caspian

seas, the Caucasus, and the Jaxartes River; on the east by the Desert of Thibet and the Indus; and on the west by the African desert, the sea, and the little Greek peninsula. Its only civilized neighbors were the populous districts of India and the Greeks of Europe.

With these last it came into conflict some thirty years after the death of Cyrus, and the heroic and marvelous success of the Greeks began a two-thousand-year struggle between Europe and Asia. The story belongs to European history (§ 157 ff.). It is enough here to note that the Persian repulse marked the limit of their empire. That empire lasted, however, a century and a half more, until Macedonian Alexander conquered it and established a modified Greek civilization over all the Eastern world (§ 240 ff.).

II. THE PERSIAN CONTRIBUTIONS.

70. Religion and Morals. — The noble religion of the Persians is contained in the Zend-Avesta — the Persian Bible — and had been established about 1000 B.C. by *Zoroaster*. According to this great teacher, the world was the scene of conflict between the two opposing powers of Light and Darkness, or Good and Evil. It was the duty of man to assist the good power, by killing noxious beasts and caring tenderly for other animals, by redeeming the earth to fertility, and by resisting evil within his own heart. Idolatry was not permitted; and though the older superstitions cropped out sometimes in Magism — the religious system of the Median priests — and though there arose a belief in a multitude of good and bad angels, still this faith was by far the purest of the ancient world, except that of the Hebrews. In part, no doubt, this similarity in religious thought, as compared with the idolatrous and licentious peoples about them, explains the friendly relations between the Persians and their tributaries, the Jews (§ 64). The Persian belief in a dual principle of good and evil was to affect Greek philosophy and the thought of the later Christian world.

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Writers have spoken much of the decay of the early Persian virtue. Originally Persia was a land of hardy shepherds. The small population had now to furnish garrisons for all the great centers of the empire, while the nobles were employed as governors in the vast imperial organization. Of course the old simplicity of life was lost; it is true, too, that the attitude of the Persians toward their king was one of Oriental slavishness; but the charge of degeneracy is not well sustained. Herodotus admired their manly sports and the training of the boys — "to ride, to shoot with the bow, and to speak the truth." To the last they fought gallantly, and the Greeks conquered in battle because of improved weapons and better tactics, not from superior bravery.

71. Political Contributions. — The Persians were soldiers and rulers. They borrowed their art and their material civilization from Babylon; and, apart from the influence of their religion, their three important services to the world were connected with their political history: (*a*) the immense expansion of the map; (*b*) the repulse of the Scythians; (*c*) the higher organization of imperial government. The first of these has been dwelt upon in connection with the rise of the empire; the other two demand separate treatment.

III. PERSIA AND THE SCYTHIANS.

72. Persia the Champion of Civilization. — In Greek history, Persia was to appear as the foe of the rising European culture, and so we are apt to forget her great service as the defender of civilization. About 630 B.C., shortly before the downfall of Nineveh, the frozen steppes of the north had poured hordes of savages into Western Asia (§ 41). These destructive nomads were called Scythians by the Greeks. We do not know who they were, but the irruption seems in some respects similar to those of the Huns, Turks, and Tartars, in later history. They plundered as far as Egypt, and made a real danger to all the culture the world had been building

up so painfully for four thousand years. Assyria and Lydia were both overrun; and empire fell rightfully to the Medes and Persians, who could and did champion the cause of civilization against barbarism. The Medes drove the ruthless ravagers back to their own deserts; and the repeated and imposing expeditions of the early Persian kings into the Scythian country awed the barbarians and averted the danger for centuries. Darius, the greatest of the successors of Cyrus, seems to have justified his conquests on this ground. In a famous inscription on a rock cliff, enumerating his conquests, he says: "Auramazda [the God of Light] delivered unto me these countries when he saw them in uproar. . . . By the grace of Auramazda I have brought them to order again."[1]

IV. IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT.

73. The Old Kingdom-empires. — Each kingdom in ancient times was administered by a complex bureaucracy, as in Egypt (§ 22); but until about 700 B.C., the various "empires" as wholes had a very simple machinery. The tributary states retained kings from their old royal families; the peoples kept their separate languages, religions, forms of government, laws, and customs. Indeed, they remained in almost all respects as separate as before they were incorporated in the conquering empire, except for the obligation to pay tribute and to assist in war, and except that their kings were expected to attend the court of the imperial master from time to time and to bring him presents. Two subject kingdoms might even make war upon each other without interference from the higher king. The brief empire of the Jews was of this nature. Solomon, the Book of Kings tells us, "reigned over *all the kingdoms* . . . unto the border of Egypt; they brought presents and served Solomon."

[1] Quoted by Ranke, *Universal History*, 113. The translation, however, is disputed. The inscription from which this is taken is in three parallel columns, in different languages, and served as the "Rosetta Stone" of the cuneiform writing (§ 11).

Plainly, such a conglomerate empire would fall to pieces easily. If any reverse happened to the dominant state, — if a foreign invasion or the unexpected death of a sovereign occurred, — the whole fabric might be shattered at a moment into its original parts. Then would follow years of bloody war, until some power restored the imperial structure. Tranquillity and security could not exist; and, worst of all, a sovereign state was sure to try to check chronic rebellion by severe punishments that often ruined flourishing countries. A common practice, to break the spirit of a rebellious people, was the wholesale deportation of inhabitants to colonize some distant territory, whose old inhabitants then, without fault of their own, were transferred to the depopulated district. In this way the Assyrians transplanted Chaldeans to Armenia, Israelites to Media, and Arabians and Persians to Palestine.[1]

74. Government by Satraps. — The first improvement came from Assyria in her second period. The re-founders of the Assyrian power in the eighth century were organizers as well as conquerors. They left the subject peoples their own laws and customs as before, but they broke up many of the old kingdoms into satrapies, or provinces, ruled by appointed officers, who in theory were dependent wholly upon the pleasure of the Great King.

75. System perfected by Darius. — The Persians inherited and perfected this advance in centralization. *Darius I.*, the fourth Persian king (521–485 B.C.), is sometimes called the *organizer* of the empire, as Cyrus was its founder. Improvement though it was, the Assyrian system was poor enough. Each satrap remained virtually sovereign in his own government, and was always tempted to make himself an independent king. Darius introduced effective checks upon this danger.

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[1] Longfellow's picture, in *Evangeline*, of the removal of a small population in modern times with all possible gentleness, will help us to imagine the misery that must have come from such transportation of whole nations by overland journeys of a thousand miles.

In each of the twenty provinces, power was divided between the satrap himself and the commander of the standing army, who were separately responsible to the capital; moreover, in each province was placed a royal secretary (the "King's Ear") to communicate constantly with the Great King; and, most important of all, a special royal commissioner (the "King's Eye"), backed with military forces, appeared at intervals in each satrapy to inquire into the government, and, if necessary, to arrest the satrap.

76. Post Roads. — To draw the distant parts of the empire closer, Darius instituted a magnificent system of post roads, with ferries and bridges, with milestones and excellent inns, and with relays of horses for the royal couriers. The chief road, from Susa to Sardis, was over fifteen hundred miles long; but it is said that dispatches were sometimes carried its whole length in six days, although ordinary travel required three months. Benjamin Ide Wheeler writes graphically of this great highway (*Alexander the Great*, 196–197): —

"All the diverse life of the countries it traversed was drawn into its paths. Carians and Cilicians, Phrygians and Cappadocians, staid Lydians, sociable Greeks, crafty Armenians, rude traders from the Euxine shores, nabobs of Babylon, Medes and Persians, galloping couriers mounted on their Bokhara ponies or fine Arab steeds, envoys with train and state, peasants driving their donkeys laden with skins of oil or wine or sacks of grain, stately caravans bearing the wares and fabrics of the south to exchange for the metals, slaves, and grain of the north, travelers and traders seeking to know and exploit the world, — all were there, and all were safe under the protection of an empire, the roadway of which pierced the strata of many tribes and many cultures, *and helped set the world a-mixing.*"

77. Permanency of the Political System. — This was as far as imperial organization went until the time of the Roman world. It seems to us that little was done to promote a *spirit of unity* among the diverse peoples. Each kept its separate language, customs, and religion. Still, for the times, the organization of Darius was a marvelous work. It decayed somewhat, after a

while, but it remained effective enough to maintain political unity against all peril from within, and the empire lost no important territory until attacked by Europe. Certainly the Persian system marked a great advance over the earlier two thousand years of looser kingdom-empires. Indeed, it is the most effective ever used yet in the East, and it is essentially the same as that of the later Saracen and Turkish empires. It was much more like the later Roman imperial government than like the older Asiatic system, and it gave to large parts of Asia a better government than they have had during the past five hundred years of Turkish misrule in our era — during which time populous regions that under Persia blossomed like gardens have become desert wastes and the lairs of beasts.

For Further Reading. — The best short reference on Persia is Wheeler's *Alexander the Great*, 187–207.

Special Reports. — 1. Zoroaster and his teachings (James Freeman Clarke, *Ten Great Religions;* Maspero, *Passing of the Empires*). 2. Persian architecture (Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, III.). 3. The campaigns of Cambyses in Egypt. 4. The accession of Darius. 5. Anecdotes from Herodotus regarding Persian kings, and the historical value of the stories.

CHAPTER VI.

A RETROSPECT.

Brief general statements can hardly avoid some element of error; and advancing scholarship is more and more modifying the sharp contrasts that used to be drawn between peoples. Still, it is helpful to re-survey the Oriental field rapidly from two points of view.

78. Progress. — This has been chiefly the point of view in the text, and it is the most important to hold in mind. Egypt gave us the beginnings of art and science, and Chaldea developed material civilization and commercial law. Phoenicia scattered the germs of this progress over much of the Eastern hemisphere, to take root in many places. Persia enlarged many-fold the map of the orderly world, beat back for centuries the danger of barbarian invasion, and organized an effective system of imperial administration. And the Hebrews gave to their pure, lofty religious conceptions a vitality that was to make them sway the world.

79. Limitations. — But this progress was imperfect. Art and science became mummy-like through their adherence to fixed patterns. Sculpture was rigid, impassive, and unlovely, even when it did not mix the monstrous with the human. Architecture sought for magnitude rather than beauty and proportion. Most religions, however far they had progressed, continued to foster lust and cruelty. Thought cringed before superstition, and did not seek fearlessly to know. War was unspeakably inhuman and destructive. Government meant the omnipotent despotism of one man and the abject servility of all the rest. Even material prosperity was only for the few.

Whether the Oriental man could have thrown off these trammels if left longer to himself, we cannot say surely; but twice

as long a time had already been consumed since these civilizations had appeared in full blossom as has since sufficed for all our Western growth; and the relatively slow progress of the East in those four thousand years, together with the stationary history of China and India since, points to a probable crystallization, rather than to further progress, had new actors not appeared upon a new scene.

Suggestions for Review of Part I.

Let the class prepare review questions, each member five or ten, to ask of the others. Criticise the questions, showing which ones help to bring out important facts and contrasts and likenesses, and which are merely trivial or curious. Use the syllabus in the table of contents, so as to get clear the plan of this part of the book. It is not worth while to hold students responsible for dates in Part I., unless, perhaps, for a few of the later ones. Make list of important names or terms for rapid drill, demanding brief but clear explanation of each term.

PART II.

THE GREEKS.

Greece — that point of light in history! — HEGEL.

We are all Greeks. Our laws, our literature, our religion, our art, have their roots in Greece. — SHELLEY.

Except the blind forces of nature, there is nothing that moves in the world to-day that is not Greek in origin. — HENRY SUMNER MAINE.

MAP STUDIES.

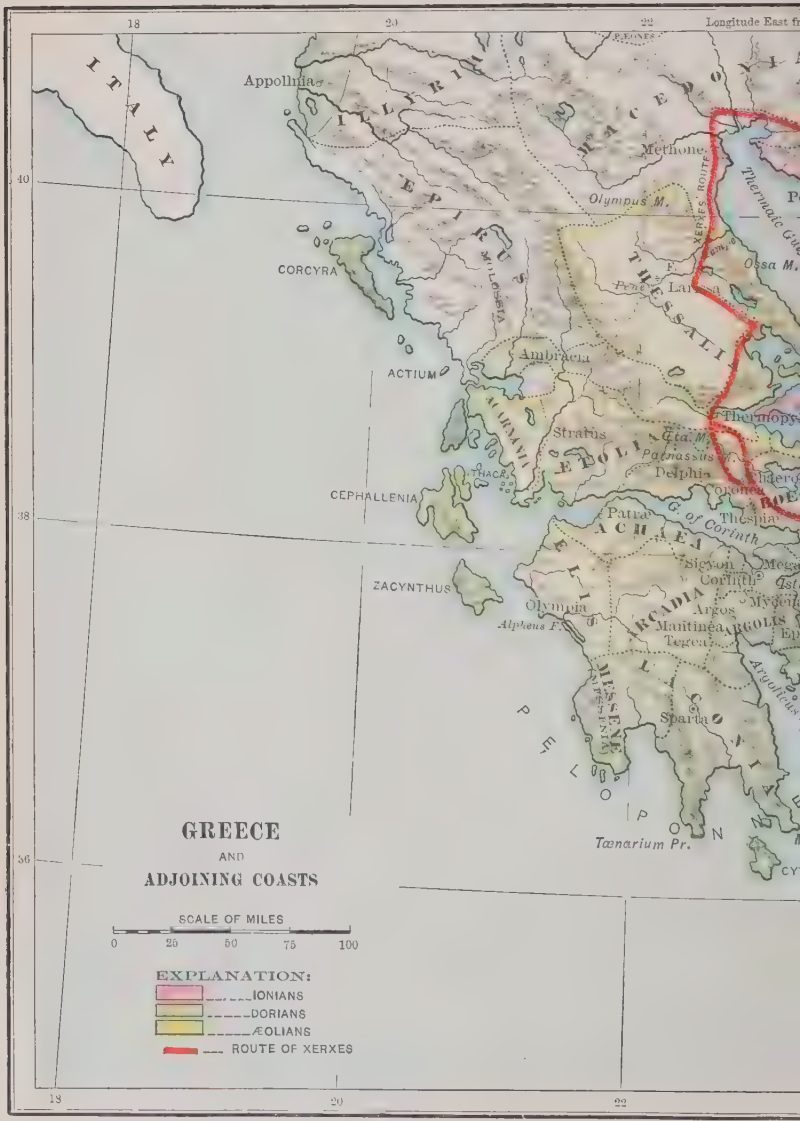
Note the three greater divisions: *Northern Greece* (Epirus and Thessaly); *Central Greece* (a group of eleven districts, to the isthmus of Corinth); and the *Peloponnesus* (the southern peninsula). Name the districts from Phocis south, and the chief cities in each as shown on the map. Which divisions have no coast? Locate Delphi, Thermopylae, Tempe, Parnassus, Olympus, Olympia, Salamis, Ithaca, eight islands, three cities on the Asiatic side. Draw the map with the amount of detail just indicated.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY SURVEY.

I. THE EUROPEAN AND THE ASIATIC TYPE.

80. Distinctions in Culture. — Asia had developed the first civilizations; but, at a later date, an independent and more important culture began to rise in Southern Europe. This new civilization was soon to draw from the Orient in many ways, but it remained essentially European in character. *Diversity succeeded to Asiatic uniformity, moderation to extravagance, freedom to despotism.*



GREECE
AND
ADJOINING COASTS
SCALE OF MILES
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EXPLANATION:
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DORIANS
ÆOLIANS
ROUTE OF XERXES
Longitude East fr
ITALY
Appollinia
ILLYRIA
MACEDONIA
Methone
Olympus M.
XERXES' ROUTE
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EPIRUS
MOLOSSIA
CORCYRA
THESSALI
Larissa
Pene
Ambracia
ACTIUM
ALARNANII
Stratus
ÆTOLIA
Thermopy
Eta M.
Parnassus M.
Delphia
Coronea
THACA
CEPHALLENIA
Patra
ACHAEA
G. of Corinth
Thespia
Sicyon
Corinth
ZACYNTHUS
Olympia
Alpheus F.
ARCADIA
Argos
Mantinea
Tegea
ARGOLIS
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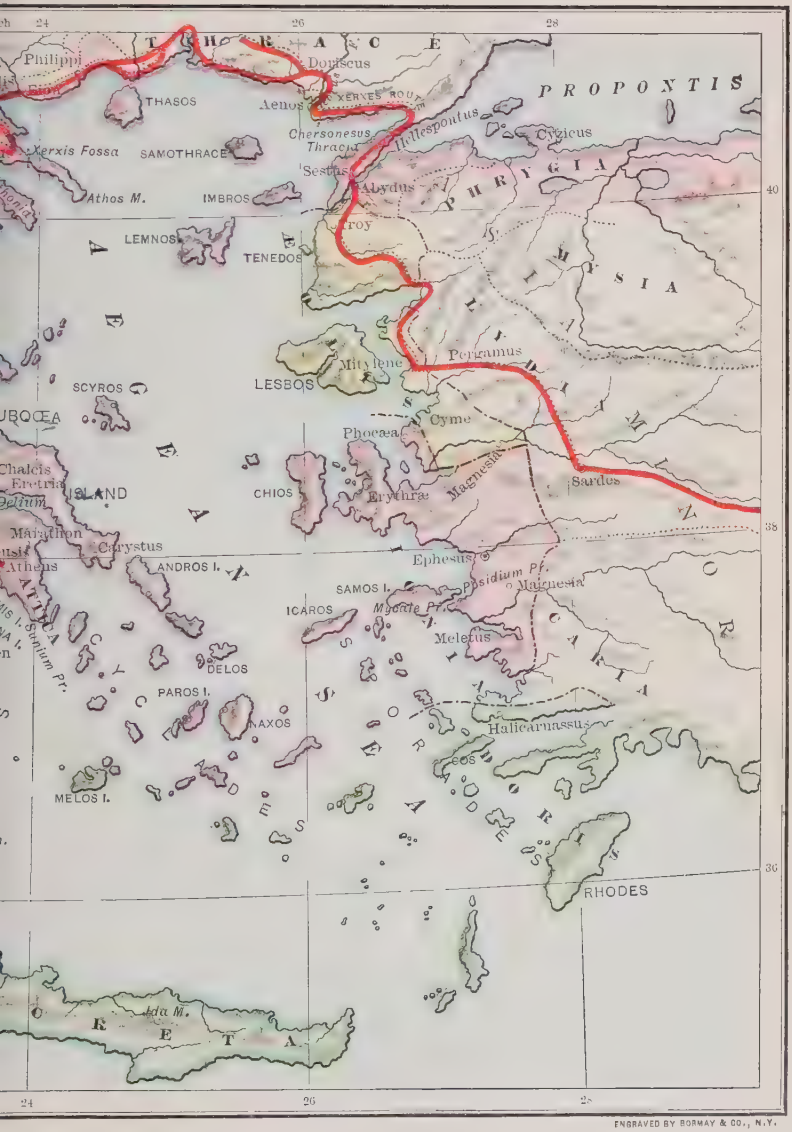

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81. Basis of Distinctions in Culture. — The contrast is based, in part at least, upon physical differences. We must note four geographical peculiarities of Western Europe.

a. It is a peninsula, oceanic rather than continental.

b. It has a more temperate climate and more varied products than the semi-tropical river valleys of Asia.

These conditions demanded greater exertion, physical and intellectual, and led to more diverse occupations than Asiatic conditions did. The *beginnings* of culture were slower; but Man was finally to count for more, and Nature was to be less all-sufficient and overpowering.

c. In contrast with the great Asiatic plain, the land is broken into many small units fitted for the homes of distinct peoples, all close together and so invited to friendly intercourse, but with natural defenses against hostile attacks from one another. This has conduced to the existence, side by side, of different but mutually helpful civilizations.

d. Europe as a whole holds a strategic position as against Asia. Physical characteristics, such as those mentioned in the last three paragraphs, were found, of course, in some districts of Asia, notably in Syria and some parts of Asia Minor; and accordingly in these places there began civilizations marked by the "European" characteristics of diversity and freedom; but their vicinity to the earlier and mightier river-empires was fatal, and in the end the Asiatic character was always imposed upon them. Europe was saved by its distance and by its position behind the great moat of the Mediterranean. This sea has been a decisive factor in European history in two respects, — as a *road* for friendly intercourse, and even more as a *barrier* against hostile Asiatic invasion.

II. GREECE TYPICAL OF EUROPE.

"The Greeks are moderns. . . . Ptah-hotep [§ 30] or Ezekiel could not move in modern society. Aristotle or Menander [§§ 207, 255] in all moral and social questions would at once find their way, and enjoy even our poetry and fiction. Even the medieval baron would feel vastly more out of place among us than would an intelligent Greek." — Mahaffy.

82. "The Most European of European Lands."— Hellas, or Greece, meant not European Greece alone, but all the lands of the "Hellenes," as the Greeks called themselves. This included (*a*) the peninsula in Europe, together with the shores and islands of the Aegean; and (*b*) colonial Greece, that is, the Greeks on the Black Sea on the east, and Greek Sicily and southern Italy on the west, besides scattered patches elsewhere along the Mediterranean.

Still, the central peninsula remained the heart of Hellas in culture, as in geography. Omitting Epirus and Thessaly, which were not properly Greek in character or history, its area is less than a quarter that of the state of New York. But in this little district are concentrated in miniature all the characteristic traits of European geography (§ 81); and surely it is no mere coincidence that the first home of typical European culture should have been this "most European of European lands."

83. Special Geographical Features and Their Influence. — Five controlling factors deserve special mention: the breaking up into small districts; the sea roads; the incitement to trade; the vicinity of the open side to Eastern civilization; the moderation and beauty of nature.

a. The islands and patches of Greek settlements on distant coasts were of course so many distinct divisions; and even little Greece proper counted over twenty geographical units, each encompassed by its sea moats and mountain walls. Some of these divisions were about as large as an American township, and the larger ones (except Thessaly and Epirus) were only seven or eight times that size.

b. Isolated mountainous tribes are always rude and conservative; but from such tendencies Greece was saved by the sea. Her mountains, it is true, with their many passes, were "guardians of liberty" rather than hostile barriers; but it was the sea that really made friendly intercourse possible on a large scale, and that brought Athens as closely into touch with Mile-

tus (in Asia) as with Sparta or Olympia. This value of the sea, too, held good for neighboring parts of "European Greece" itself, which, with less area than Portugal, has a longer coast-line than all the Spanish peninsula. The very heart of the land is broken into islands and promontories, so that it is hard to find a spot distant from the coast more than thirty miles. Only two divisions failed to touch the sea, and they were notoriously backward and unimportant.

c. Certain products made intercourse exceedingly desirable, and invited to wider travel. The mountain slopes in some parts, as in Attica, grew wine and oil better than grain. Wine and oil — much value in little space — were especially suited for commerce; and with their limited food supply, if population was to increase, the people in such districts were driven to trade. Now, seafaring traders, exchanging commodities, are prone to exchange ideas also; and thus the maritime Greeks became innovators centuries before Paul commended them for "always seeking some new thing."

d. These early seekers found valuable new things within easy reach. Fortunately, this most European of all European lands lay nearest of all Europe to the old civilization of Asia. Moreover, it *faced* this civilized East rather than the barbarous West. On the side toward Italy, the coast is cliff or marsh, with only three or four good harbors the whole length; but on the east the whole line is broken by countless deep, inviting bays, from whose mouths, too, chains of tempting islands lead on and on, so that in clear weather the mariner may cross the Aegean without losing sight of land.

e. Most important of all, perhaps, was the element of diversity. A great Oriental state found its one dominant life principle in some mighty river; it spread over vast plains, and was bounded by terrible immensities of desolate deserts. Greece contained no navigable river, and, except in Thessaly, no plains of consequence. It was a land of marvelously varied sea and mountain. This variety, and the moderation of the natural features, found a counterpart in the versatile genius of the

people, in their originality, and in their lively imagination; while the beauty of intermingled hill and sunlit sea, the exhilarating air, and the soft splendor of the radiant sky, helped to make their intense joy in life.

Thus in their little peninsula the Greeks produced many varieties of society, side by side. They inquired fearlessly into all secrets, natural and supernatural, instead of abasing themselves in Oriental awe; they had no controlling priesthood; and they never submitted long to arbitrary government. Above all other peoples, too, they developed a passion for the beautiful and a sense of harmony and proportion: the same word stood to them for the *good* and the *beautiful;* and temperance, or moderation, became their ideal virtue.

84. A Problem: the Land or the People? — Was the work of Greece in history the result of Greek genius or of these geographical conditions? As early as the year 2000 B.C. the islands and coasts of the Aegean were peopled by a variety of tribes. Some of these were "the stuff of which the Greeks were afterward made." Some, so far as we can tell, were wholly alien, like the Phoenicians and the Etruscans. The great body were allied to the Latins on the west, to the Phrygians, Lycians, and Carians on the east, and to the Thracians and Macedonians on the north. Nature and history gradually differentiated those tribes whom we call Greeks from these neighbors, of whom they seem to have been at first only a part. So some writers make the land everything, and speak as if even Homer were "only a natural product of the smiling Ionian skies." But those same skies, in the three thousand years since, have produced no second Homer; and it is hard to believe that Sennacherib's Assyrians, for instance, if transplanted to Greece, would have been made into Greeks.

The question, of course, goes to the bottom of all history. About all we can say is, that the result was due to land *and* people, and to outside history. Says Freeman: "Neither the

Greeks in any other land, nor any other people in Greece, would have been what the Greeks in Greece actually were"; nor, we may add, the same people in the same land at a later and less plastic stage, or with different influences from without. It was an instance of good seed falling upon good ground *under favorable conditions of time and history;* but, to read history truly, we must note that a larger portion of the same seed seems to have gone to waste in the regions round about.

For Further Reading. — The matters dealt with in this chapter are discussed in the opening pages of all standard histories of Greece. For the geography, see, especially, Curtius, I. 9–25; Abbott, I. 1–23; or Holm, I. 24–30.

In these reference lists, standard works are referred to only by authors (where there is no danger of ambiguity) or by abbreviated titles. Full titles, with dates, prices, and publishers, are given in the classified bibliographies in the Appendix.

CHAPTER II.

PREHISTORIC GREECE — TO 1000 B.C.

I. SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

85. Homer and his Age. — Writing of any kind came late in Greece. Until recently our vague knowledge of early culture there was based on the Homeric poems, which were handed down orally from generation to generation for some centuries before they were put into manuscript. Homer's *Iliad* describes part of the siege of Troy by the Greeks, to recover the beautiful Helen, whom a Trojan prince had carried off. The *Odyssey* narrates the wanderings of one of the heroes in the return from the war. Now, the wars and the heroes may be pure fiction, or the story may be based upon an attempt of the Greeks to punish pirates from Asia; but, in either case, the poet's pictures of society must have truth in them. In rude ages a bard may invent stories, but not a society. As has been well said, what such a poet *tells* us as history is apt to be false, but what he *mentions incidentally* is sure to be history. The poems were composed about 1000 B.C. They claim to describe events a century or two earlier, but no doubt they paint that past in colors true for their own day.

BRONZE PITCHER FROM MYCENAE.

86. Archaeology confirms Homer, but also reveals Earlier Ages. — Greece, however, had possessed a much earlier life, of which Homer and the historic Greeks never

dreamed, but of which we are now learning from another source. The remains buried in the soil were neglected strangely by students of Greek history long after the study of such objects had disclosed many wonders in Asia; but in 1870 Dr. Schliemann turned to this kind of investigation in order to confirm Homer. The excavations since that time have done this, but they have also opened up a thousand years of older culture. Two incidents in this exploration we will note.

a. Homer places the capital of Agamemnon, leader of all the Greeks, in Argolis at Mycenae, "rich in gold." Here, in 1890, Schliemann uncovered remains of an ancient city, with peculiar massive ("Cyclopean") walls. Within he found a curious

Bronze Dagger from Mycenae, inlaid with gold.

group of tombs, where (to use the brilliant picture of Walter Pater's *Greek Studies*) lay in state rudely embalmed bodies of ancient kings —

"in the splendor of their crowns and breastplates of embossed plate of gold; their swords studded with golden imagery; their faces covered strangely in golden masks. The very floor of one tomb was thick with gold dust — the heavy gilding from some perished kingly vestment; in another was a downfall of golden leaves and flowers; and amid this profusion of fine fragments were rings, bracelets, smaller crowns, as for children,[1] dainty butterflies for ornaments, and that golden flower on a silver stalk — all of pure, soft gold unhardened by alloy, the delicate films of

[1] Mr. Pater's "as for children" gives a wrong impression. These small ornaments probably were made specially for the dead, and were therefore made small for economy — just as the Chinese use paper symbols, instead of the older real funeral money, to bury with their dead. Such use of diminutive imitations is wide-spread in the funeral customs of early peoples.

which one must touch but lightly, yet twisted and beaten, by hand and hammer, into wavy, spiral relief."

One tomb, with three female bodies, contained eight hundred and seventy gold objects, besides vast multitudes of very small ornaments and countless gold beads and pieces of beaten gold. In another, five bodies were "literally smothered in jewels"; and, with all this ornament, there were skillfully wrought, curiously inlaid weapons for the dead, with whetstones to keep them keen, and graceful vases of marble and alabaster carved with delicate forms, to hold the funeral food and wine; while near the entrance lay other bodies, perhaps of slaves or captives who had been offered in sacrifice.

It is true these particular remains belong to a period long before that celebrated by Homer, but no doubt in the poet's time a like society was to be found in parts of Greece; after these discoveries, the Homeric pictures of royal palaces (*Odyssey*, vii. 84 ff.) adorned with friezes of glittering blue glass, the walls flashing with bronze and gleaming with plated gold, the heroes and their guests feasting through the night, from gold vessels, in halls lighted by torches held on massive golden statues, no longer seem poetic exaggerations.

b. In 1870 Dr. Schliemann began his first excavations at a little village in the Troad, three miles from the shore, where tradition had always placed the scene of the *Iliad*. These explorations continued more than twenty years, and disclosed nine distinct layers of débris — each layer the remains of a separate settlement. The oldest, on native rock some fifty feet below the present surface, was a rude village of indefinite antiquity. The second was thought by Dr. Schliemann to be Homer's Troy. It showed powerful walls, a citadel that had been destroyed by fire, and a civilization marked by bronze weapons and gold ornaments. We know now that this city passed away about 2500 B.C., so that no doubt the very memory of its civilization had perished before the real Troy was built. Above it came the remains of three successive inferior settlements, and then — the sixth layer from the bottom — a

much larger and finer city, which had perished in a hostile conflagration some eleven or twelve hundred years B.C. Extensive explorations in the year 1893, after Schliemann's death,

THE GATE OF THE LIONS AT MYCENAE.

finally proved this sixth city to be the Troy of Homer, with remarkable correspondence in detail to the picture in the *Iliad*.[1]

[1] Above this came an archaic Greek city, a magnificent city of Alexander's age, a Roman city, and, finally, the squalid Turkish village of to-day.

The impressive fact, however, was, not the confirmation of Homer's story, but rather that not even a shadowy tradition of this older culture of Schliemann's Troy survived to be sung by any poet of a later day. Men began to see that the Greeks were not so young as our former ignorance had taught, but that "obscure millenniums preceded the sudden bloom" of their historic life. A new interest led to important results (§§ 87, 88).

For Further Reading. — Tsountas and Manatt's *Mycenaean Age*, or Schuckardt's *Schliemann's Excavations.*

II. TWO PREHISTORIC CIVILIZATIONS.

87. Mycenaean Culture.[1] — Excavations at many places on the coasts and islands of the eastern Mediterranean prove now that this early civilization reached from Sardinia to Cyprus, and that it was indigenous in Greece. Steady progress appears, from rude stone implements and crude carvings, through many stages, up to magnificent bronze work and highly developed art. This was the slow work of the dark-skinned, long-headed people of Southern Europe (§§ 8 and 9) between 2500 and 1500 B.C.; and the culture seems to have been helped to quicker bloom by contact with Phoenicians. These adventurers bartered with the ruder natives, for centuries perhaps, much as English traders did two hundred years ago with American Indians, tempting their ignorant cupidity with strange wares

[1] The discoveries of the year 1896–1900, especially the last of these years, have made it necessary to recast completely the older ideas of primitive Greece. *The Quarterly Review*, July, 1901, says of the revolution in classical scholarship wrought in 1900–1901: "The altered attitude is so clearly marked, the influence so fundamental and wide reaching, that, to find adequate parallel, we must look back to the day of the Renaissance."

The literature of these years (at the publication of this volume) is still mainly in special "Journals." Ridgeway's *Early Age of Greece* and Hall's *Oldest Civilization in Greece* (both of 1901) sum up results in book form, but they are books for critical scholars only. Advanced students who have access to *The Quarterly* will find an excellent survey in the article quoted above. Professor Manatt reviews and criticises Ridgeway, in an interesting article in the *New York Independent*, Oct. 31, 1901.

of small value, and counting it best gain of all if they could lure curious maidens on board their black ships for distant slave markets.[1]

In return, however, the strangers made many an unconscious payment. Language shows that they gave to the Greeks the names (and so, no doubt, the use) of linen, myrrh, cinnamon, frankincense, soap, lyres, wine jars, cosmetics, and writing tablets. The Greek alphabet itself is Phoenician, without question.[2] The metal work found in the tombs is often Phoenician or Egyptian. The smelting of metals and use of bronze, and the substitution of fine wheel-made pottery for the ruder hand-made article, may have come from the same source. Indeed, it would not be strange if sometimes — as Greek legends so delight to tell — wealthy Phoenician exiles or adventurers actually established themselves as god-descended monarchs in gilded palaces on high-lying citadels, to rule and civilize the Greek tribesmen clustered about the foot of the castle hill.

On the whole, however, scholars to-day refuse to believe that the European civilization was borrowed in its essential elements, or that the Orient did more than afford the Greeks a few hints. Certainly the lively Hellenes were not slavish imitators; and these same early remains show that they at once made their own, and improved upon, whatever the strangers brought them.

But this Mycenaean culture is not that of which Homer tells. These earlier Greeks buried their dead, worshiped ancestors, used no iron, and lived frugally on fish and vegetable diet. Homer's Greeks burn their dead; worship no ancestors, but adore a Sun God; use iron swords; and feast all night mightily on whole roast oxen. So, too, in dress, manners, and personal appearance, so far as we can tell, the two are widely different.

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[1] Herodotus, book i. ch. i., preserves traditions of such trade and piracy. Read also the picture in the *Odyssey*, xv. 403–484.

[2] The brilliant discoveries of Mr. Arthur Evans in Crete show that the Greeks there had created a crude alphabet of their own before the Phoenician was introduced. Cf. § 58.

Still, from lack of any other theory, scholars have continued, for the most part, to regard the culture pictured by Homer and that revealed in the older remains, as two stages in one development or as two views of the same culture; and the Mycenaean civilization has usually been known also as *Achaean*, from the name Homer uses for his Greeks. This, however, is simply to ignore the many striking contradictions; and recently Professor Ridgeway (*Early Age of Greece*, 1901 A.D.) has suggested an hypothesis which promises to straighten out the maze. The new theory is not yet established thoroughly, but it has much to recommend it (§ 88).

THE "VAPHIO CUPS": 3¾ inches high; 8 ounces each. Found in 1889, and dating back at least to 1200 B.C. Dr. Schuchardt declares them "unrivaled for originality of design and delicacy of execution, except perhaps by the finest goldsmith work of the Italian Renaissance."

88. Achaean Culture. — About 1500 B.C., in Central Europe there had grown up an independent civilization; it was ruder than that of the South, but the people were more vigorous and were armed with iron, — perhaps at first, through some happy accident, by the discovery of iron free so as not to need smelting. This culture has been named Hallstatt, from a place in the Alps where its remains abound. Professor Ridgeway claims to prove that it corresponds, even in minute details, with the culture Homer ascribes to his Achaean chiefs, and argues forcefully that about 1300 B.C. bands of these fair-haired, blue-eyed, ox-eating warriors from the North, drawn by the splendor and riches of the Mycenaean South, must have

THE SCROLL FROM THE VAPHIO CUPS. — From Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Primitive Greece*.

broken into Greece, as men of the North so many times since into Southern Europe. These mighty-limbed strangers, armed with long iron swords, easily established themselves among the short, dark, bronze-weaponed natives, dwelt in their cities, became their chiefs, married their women, and possessed their wealth. For a time the older culture was overridden by the practices and ideas of these semi-barbaric *Achaeans;* but gradually the two civilizations blended, the fair-skinned invaders adopted the native language, and after a while they disappeared in the native population — as has happened to all northern invaders in southern lands. Homer tells us mainly of the Achaeans, but the older society persisted, no doubt, and was again, in modified form, to come to the surface. Even Homer seems to show some mixture of customs as early as his day.

III. ECONOMIC SOCIETY.

89. A Simple Society. — No doubt we are liable to exaggerate the "golden" side of the Homeric Age. The poet naturally dwelt upon the deeds and homes of heroes, so that sometimes we call the age "Heroic"; but this was only a small part of Greek life after all, and, as a whole, society was primitive and manners were harsh. The culture of Mycenae *culminated* only at a few points on the coast, and Homer himself, if we look close, shows that wealthy princes were rare even among his kings. The son of Odysseus, astounded by the splendor of Menelaus' palace, with its "gleam as of sun and moon," whispers to his companion (*Odyssey*, iv. 70): —

> "Mark the flashing of bronze through the echoing halls, and the flashing of gold and of amber and of silver and of ivory. Such like, methinks, is the court of Olympian Zeus. . . . Wonder comes over me as I look."

The mighty Odysseus had built his palace with his own hands, — "a rude farmhouse, where swine wallow in the court"; and the one petty island in which he was head-king held scores of poorer kings.[1]

[1] See the picture of the princess Nausicaa, *Odyssey*, vi. 20–100.

90. Occupations and Classes. — Industry was still mainly agricultural. The mass of the people were small farmers, though their houses were grouped in compact settlements. Even the kings tilled their larger farms, in part at least, with their own hands. Slaves were few, except in the houses of the greater chiefs. There had appeared, however, a class of miserable landless freemen, who hired themselves to the farmers. When the ghost of Achilles wishes to name to Odysseus the most unhappy lot among mortals, he selects that of the hired servant (§ 143); and the poet Hesiod (800 B.C.), of the farmer class himself, and feeling keenly for its woes, has no pity for these laborers, but advises the farmer to turn them out to shift for themselves as winter comes on. Highly honored artisans and smiths were found among the retainers of the greater chiefs. A separate class of traders had not arisen. The chiefs, in the intervals of farm labor, varied their profits by trading expeditions, or by piracy on sea or land. Telemachus, son of Odysseus, is asked (*Odyssey*, iii. 60–70), evidently without offense intended or received, whether he comes as a pirate or as a peaceful trader.

IV. THE TRIBE — UNITS AND TIES.[1]

91. The Clan. — In early times the lowest political unit in Greek society was a clan, or gens. Each gens, indeed, was a kind of family, containing several such families as we have, and ranging in size from a score, perhaps, to many score of members. The nearest descendant of the forefather of the clan, counting from oldest son to oldest son, was the clan elder, or "king." The two bonds of union were *blood* and *worship* —

[1] Some peculiar institutions of early society colored later Greek history to a marked degree. The more important of these have to be studied mostly in their fragmentary survivals in the later history, and by comparing such remains with the customs of savage peoples of the present day. Fortunately, however, some of the later Greeks described Greek tribal society as it existed in their time in the little-changed, backward tribes of northern and western Greece (see especially Thucydides, i. 2–8).

a common descent and a common religion; and these two were really one, for the clan religion was a worship of clan ancestors. If provided with pleasing periodic meals and invoked with magic formulas (so the belief ran), the powerful ghosts of the ancient clan elders would continue to aid their descendants.[1]

This worship was secret, and hostile to all outside the clan. The altar was the clan tomb, and the only legitimate priest was the clan elder. For a non-clansman even to see the worship was to defile it; for him to learn the sacred formulas was to secure power over the gods. It followed that marriage became a "religious" act. The woman had to renounce her own gods, and to be accepted by the gods of her husband into their clan.[2] After that, she and her future children were in law and in religion no longer related to her father and his clan; relationship and inheritance of property came through males only.

In like manner in later times, as the families of the clan more and more became distinct units, each came to have its separate family worship. The father was the priest of the Hearth, or family altar, near which were grouped the Penates, or images of ancestors. There, before each meal, was poured out the libation, and there blessings were invoked. Piety consisted in fulfilling strictly these obligations to the ancestral deities. The family tomb anciently was near the house, "so that the sons," says Euripides, "in entering and leaving their dwelling, might always meet their fathers and invoke them."

92. Larger Units: Phratry and Tribe. — Long before history began, clans united into larger units. In barbarous society

[1] The food was actually meant for the ghost. Milk and wine were poured into a hollow in the ground, with sacred formulas inviting the dead to eat; and it was the grossest impiety for any mortal to touch the food left at the grave. Travelers describe similar practices among primitive peoples to-day. A Papuan chief prays: "Compassionate Father! Here is food for you. Eat it, and be kind to us!" Turner relates that in Samoa, at the evening meal, the family priest exclaims, with his offering: "Here is ava for you, O gods! look kindly towards this family. . . . Let our plantations be kept productive: let food grow! Here is ava for you, O war gods! Let this be a strong and numerous people for you!"

[2] Her father, of course, or some male relative, renounced for her, and gave her to the bridegroom. This is the origin of "giving in marriage" to-day.

the highest unit is the tribe. The clan-elder of the leading clan was the tribal elder, or the priest-king of the tribe. The tribe, too, had a common worship of a real or pretended ancestor. If men at that stage of progress wished to combine in a friendly way, they had to invent some such bond of union. Otherwise they must think of each other as enemies. It is plain that in the larger units such bonds must have been fictitious for the most part; but in credulous, savage society, these "legal fictions" come quickly to have all the force of fact.

Between the Greek tribe and the gens came a less important unit, — the phratry, or "brotherhood" of clans, with the characteristics of a smaller tribe.

93. The Tribal City. — Originally, the tribe dwelt in its separate clan-villages in the valleys around some convenient hill-top. On the height was the place of common worship, and a ring wall turned it easily into a citadel. In hilly Greece many of these fortified tribal centers grew up close together; and so, very early, groups of tribes combined further. Perhaps one of a group would conquer the others and compel them to demolish their separate citadels and to transfer their temples to its center. This was the way in which Cecrops and Theseus are said to have founded Athens — by incorporating into one body the three hundred and sixty clan-villages of Attica. In such cases, a new legal fiction set up a common city-worship, with the king of the chief tribe for the city priest-king. Sometimes, of course, a growing tribe might enter the city stage without artificially widening its circle; but in general, as clans federated into tribes, so tribes federated into cities, either peaceably or through war. The process seems to have been well under way in Homeric times.

94. The City the Political Limit. — Though it involves a digression, it is well to note here that the city was the limit of political union among the Greeks. If this process of federation could have continued, — or, if by conquest and amalgamation the cities could have been combined into

larger units, they might have made a nation-state, like modern England or France. But the city satisfied the political ideal of the Greeks. To them the same word meant "city" and "state." A union of cities, by which any of them gave up complete sovereignty, was repugnant to Greek feeling. One city might hold others in subjection; but, in historic times, it never admitted their people to any kind of citizenship. Nor did the subject cities dream of asking such a thing. What they wanted, and would never cease to strive for, was to recover their separate independence. No one thought of union. To each Greek, his city was his country.

It followed, through nearly all Greek history, that the *political* relations of one city with another five miles away were foreign relations, as much as its dealings with the king of Persia. Wars, therefore, were constant and cruel. The concentration of interests gave to each city a vivid and intense life; but the division of Greek power into so many hostile centers made that life brief.

V. EARLY POLITICAL ORGANIZATION.

95. The King.[1]—The tribal city had three political elements —king, council of chiefs, and popular assembly. In these we may see the germs of later monarchic, aristocratic, and democratic institutions. The kings varied in authority. In centers like Mycenae they seem to have been almost absolute, though even there they had no bodyguard; but in general they were limited strictly by custom and by the two other political orders.

96. A Council of Chiefs surrounded, aided, and checked the king. These chiefs were originally the clan elders and the members of the royal family. Socially they were the king's equals; and in government he could not do anything in defiance of their wish. They could sometimes elect a king, when a vacancy occurred, although their choice must have been limited usually to one royal family.

97. The Folk-moot, or Assembly of Freemen, listened to plans proposed by king and chiefs, and shouted approval or muttered disapproval. It could not start new movements itself. There were no regular meetings and few spokes-

[1] Read Freeman's *Comparative Politics*, 144–146.

men, and the general reverence for the chiefs made it a daring deed for a common man to brave them; so that if the chiefs were agreed among themselves, it must have been hard to keep them from getting their way. However, even in war, when the authority of the nobles was greatest, the Assembly had to be *persuaded;* it could not be ordered; and Homer's songs, flattering of course to the chiefs, show that sometimes popular opposition did find expression.

The Greeks in one council before Troy break away to seize their ships for the homeward journey. Odysseus hurries among them, and by persuasion and threats forces them back to the council, until only Thersites bawls on, — "Thersites, uncontrolled of speech, whose mind was full of words *wherewith to strive against the chiefs idly.*" "Hateful was he to Achilles above all, and to Odysseus, *for them he was wont to revile.* But now *with shrill shout he poured forth his upbraidings even upon goodly Agamemnon*" (*Iliad*, ii. 210 ff.). Then Odysseus with stern rebuke smites him into silence, while the crowd laughs. Odysseus carries the crowd with him, but Thersites was a cripple, and is represented as ugly and unpopular. Professor Mahaffy comments (*Social Life*, 13): "The figure of Thersites seems drawn with special spite and venom, as a satire upon the first critics that rose up among the people and questioned the divine right of kings to do wrong. We may be sure the real Thersites, from whom the poet drew his picture, was a very different and a far more serious power in debate than the misshapen buffoon of the *Iliad.* But the king who had been thwarted and exposed by him in the day, would over his evening cups enjoy the poet's travesty, and long for the good old times when he could put down all impertinent criticism by the stroke of his knotty scepter. Indeed, the Homeric agora could hardly have existed, had it been so idle a form as the poets represent."

So Professor Freeman: "But, after all, I think that the submission of the mass of Achaian freemen to Agamemnon . . . has been, if not exaggerated, at least misunderstood. It is not the submission of slaves, but the submission of children. It is not the submission of men who wish to oppose, but who dare not; it is the submission of men who have not yet formed the wish to oppose. . . . The real thing to be marked is that there should be any opposition speakers at all."[1]

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[1] Read *Comparative Politics*, 204–207, from which this paragraph comes. For more extreme democratic views, the advanced student may consult Morgan's *Ancient Society*, 245–249.

For Further Reading. — Divisions I. and II.: see footnotes. Divisions III.–VI.: Fowler's *City State*, chs. ii., iii.; Mahaffy's *Survey*, chs. i., ii.; and *Social Life*, chs. ii., iii.; Gardner's *New Chapters in Greek History*, 1–152; Lang's *Homer and the Epic*. An excellent single-page discussion of possible historical meaning in Greek legends, like that of Theseus and the Minotaur, is given in Ranke's Universal History, I. 119. Advanced students may consult Freeman's *Comparative Politics* and Coulanges' *Ancient City*.

Topics for Reports. — Students may be asked to report upon Homeric society by topics, as indicated below, drawing information from the references given, and seeking others for themselves.

1. The assembly: *Iliad*, ii. 82–402; *Odyssey*, iii. 138–150. 2. Council of chiefs: *Iliad*, ii. 52–82, 87–187; x. 190–250. 3. Kings and chiefs: *Iliad*, i. 75–306; iv. 217–249, 410–420; xii. 255–285; xiv. 250–277. 4. Law courts (wer-geld): *Iliad*, xviii. 481–511. 5. The gods: absent, *Iliad*, i. 400–430; sacrifices, ii. 403–434; wounded in battle, v. 315–443, 710–909; domestic quarrels, i. 526–611; xv. 1–85; see also iv. 1–89; v. 100–139; viii. 1–55, 315–443; xii. 221–255; xviii. 350–481; xxi. 1–85, 296–361, 395–525. 6. Funerals: slaying of prisoners, *Iliad*, xxiii. 1–254; games, xxiii. 254–897; lamentations, xxiv. 503–702. 7. Future life: Odysseus in Hades, *Odyssey*, xi. 8. Treatment of dead enemies: *Iliad*, xxii. 330–405. 9. Treatment of captives: *Iliad*, vi. 50–75; x. 365–500; xxi. 60–124. 10. Commerce: *Odyssey*, i. 180–192; iii. 69–75; ix. 252–555. 11. Position of woman: *Odyssey*, i. 344–360; ii. 117–145. 12. Life of the poor: *Odyssey*, xi. 486–494; xiv. 54–70, 412–533; xv. 385–395; xviii. 355–361. 13. Life in a palace: *Odyssey*, iv. 20–80; viii. 1–255; xx. 145–165; vii. 75–135; xvii. 264–274; xxiii. 182–205; vi. 21–118, 303–307; iv. 120–140; xviii. 365–385; ii. 337–347; xvi. 138–142; xxiv. 205–243.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE MIGRATIONS TO THE PERSIAN WARS. 1000–500 B.C.

I. SUB-PERIODS AND CHARACTER.

98. The Gap in the Evidence. — About 1000 B.C. the barbarous but heavy-armed Dorians from the north destroyed the old civilization of the Peloponnesus, then the most advanced part of Hellas, in a long series of campaigns.[1] A long blank follows, where we have not even such imperfect guides as for the preceding age. Changes continued through the obscure centuries, but the details have forever escaped us. In a rough way, however, we get at the general trend of events by comparing Homeric Greece with the historic Greece that is revealed when the curtain rises again.

This happens about 650 B.C. From that time the Greeks used the alphabet freely; and the surviving inscriptions and the fragments of the lyric poets and of contemporary accounts fill out and correct tradition. The movements of the next one hundred and fifty years, however, seem to be simply a continuation of what had gone on in the preceding four centuries, so that the whole period down to the year 500 B.C. is best treated as a unit.

The leading facts of the five hundred years have to do with (*a*) the growth of a new Hellenic consciousness (such as Homer never had) of a race distinction between the Greeks and their

[1] The difficulties connected with the question of a Dorian invasion are discussed briefly by Holm, I. 154. The Achaeans seem to have fought still in the Homeric fashion — the chiefs in chariots, and their followers as an unwieldy, ill-armed mob. The Dorians introduced the use of heavy-armed infantry, with long spears, in regular array and close ranks.

neighbors; (*b*) great migrations and the expansion of the Hellenic world; (*c*) the political revolution which replaces the old kings by oligarchies, tyrants, and finally sometimes by democracies; (*d*) the rise of Sparta to military headship; (*e*) the development of Athens in democracy and power; and (*f*) the intellectual awakening and its new manifestations in poetry and philosophy. These movements will be treated in separate sections below.

II. RACES.

99. Ionians, Achaeans, Dorians, Aeolians. — The oldest inhabitants of Greece are sometimes called Pelasgians. In historic times they seem to have been represented by the Ionians, but over southern Greece (§ 88) they had been displaced as rulers by the fair Achaeans before 1200 B.C. Both "Ionians" and "Achaeans" appear on Egyptian monuments of the fourteenth century B.C. among the "peoples of the sea" who attacked the Delta at that time.

Between 1000 and 800 B.C. (§§ 98, 102), the Achaean preeminence in southern Greece passed to the invading Dorians. This people and the aboriginal Ionians of the unconquered parts of Hellas were to be the two leading peoples of historic Greece. Some other sections of the race, especially the people of western Greece, were known as Aeolians, or "mixed" peoples. They played a leading part too late, as the Achaeans had played their part too early, for the brilliant period of Greek history.

The Ionians, at the opening of history, held Attica and the islands of the Aegean. Athens, on a rock, was their leading city. The Athenians were maritime, democratic, progressive, artistic. The Dorians had their strength in the southern half of the Peloponnesus. Sparta was their leading city — a military settlement of conquerors, in a fertile valley, organized for defense and ruling over slave tillers of the soil. The Spartans were warlike, aristocratic, conservative, practical. There is a tendency to ascribe these characteristics of the two leading cities to their respective races, and to class all Ionians as democratic and progressive, and all Dorians as aristocratic and conservative; but this distinction holds good only within narrow limits. Colonies of Ionians and Dorians, under changed physical conditions, especially in Sicily and Italy, exchanged

these "race" characteristics. On the whole, Athens was more nearly typical of the Ionians than Sparta was of the Dorians, — no doubt because nearly all Ionians had much the same physical environment that Athens had.

III. WHAT MADE A GREEK A GREEK?

100. Unity of Hellenic Culture. — The Iliad does not make it clear whether Homer regarded the Trojans as Greeks or not; apparently he cared little about the question. Four hundred years later that question would have been a first consideration to every Greek. The forces which, during these four centuries, in the absence of political union, gave gradually to all Hellenes a oneness of feeling, were chiefly the following: language and literature; belief in kinship; and the Olympian religion, with its games and oracles.

a. The Greeks understood each other's dialects, while the men of other speech about them they called "Barbarians," or babblers (*Bar-bar-oi*). The universal allegiance to Homer (whose poems were sung and recited in every Greek village for centuries), and the glories of the later common literature, made this bond of union more vital.

b. Then the poets invented a system of relationship, through fabled Ion, Achaeus, Doris, Aeolus, — descendants of a mythic Hellen, — which confirmed all Hellenes in their belief in a common blood relationship (§ 99).

c. Besides the clan worship of ancestors and the city worship of local heroes, there was another religion common to all Greeks. This was originally a nature worship, such as most early peoples have; but the poetic imagination of the Greeks gave an intense reality and a human character to their personification of natural forces, and wove from this material the most complete and beautiful system of myths the world has ever known.[1] The greater deities, to distinguish them from lesser ones and from the gods of the narrow ancestor

[1] For some of its higher meanings, the student should read Ruskin's *Queen of the Air*. Systematic accounts will be found in Grote, I. 1–87; Abbott, I. 174–193; Grant, *Age of Pericles*, 20–26; Gayley; Guerber.

religion, were called Olympian — from Mount Olympus, whose cloud-capped summit was once thought to be their home. Three special features of this religion helped to bind Greeks together — the *Olympic Games*, the *Delphic Oracle*, and the various *Amphictyonies*.

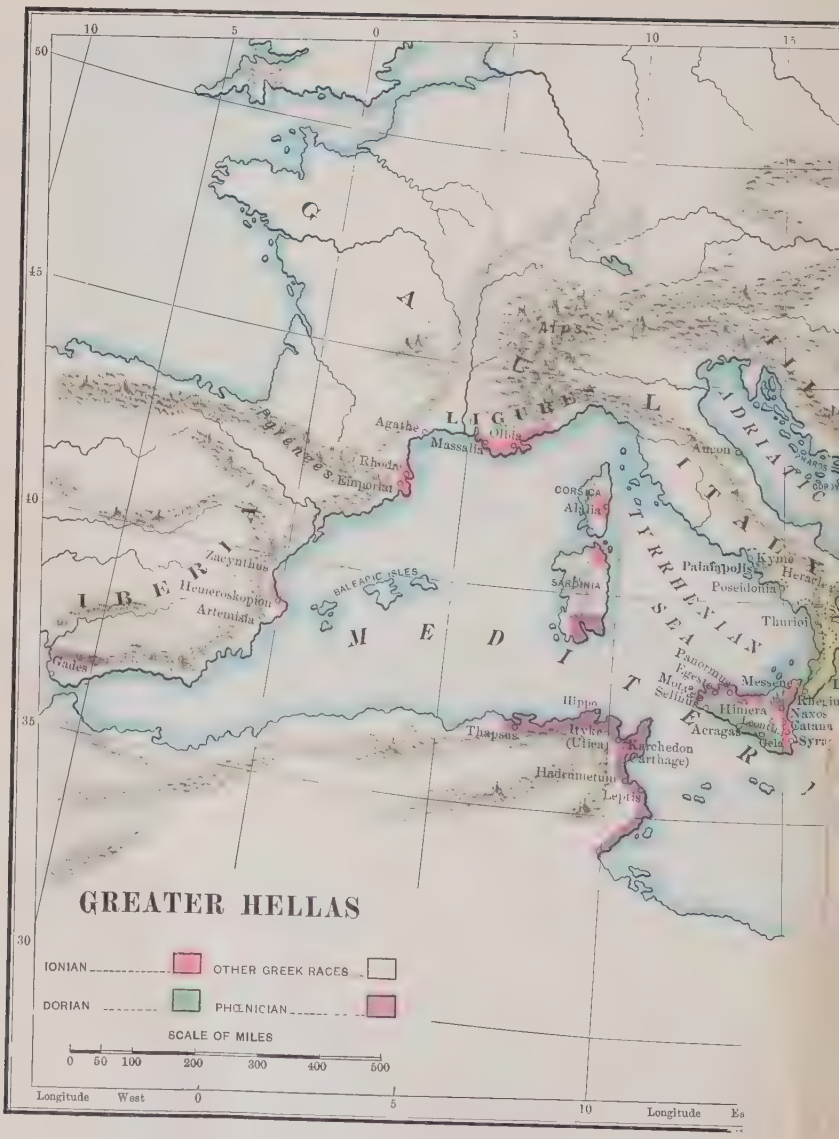
To the great festivals of some of the gods, men flocked from all Hellas. Especially was this true of the games in honor of Zeus, each fourth year, at Olympia in Elis. The contests consisted of foot and chariot racing, wrestling, and boxing; and the victors, though they received only an olive wreath at Olympia, were commonly honored at their homes with inscriptions and statues. The four-year periods, or *Olympiads*, became the Greek units in counting time; all events were dated from what was called the first recorded Olympiad, beginning in 776 B.C.

At Delphi was a temple of Apollo and an oracle whose advice was sought by individuals and governments over all Hellas. An ancient league of Greek tribes to protect this temple was known as *The Amphictyonic League*. Smaller amphictyonies (leagues of dwellers-round-about) were common in other parts of Greece. They afforded the only hint of a movement in the early history toward a union of states, but they were strictly religious in purpose.[1]

TABLE OF GREATER DEITIES. (Latin names in parenthesis.)

Zeus (Jupiter), the supreme god; god of the sky.
Poseidon (Neptune), god of the sea.
Apollo, the sun god; god of wisdom, poetry, and medicine.
Hephaestus (Vulcan), god of fire — the lame smith.
Hermes (Mercury), god of the wind; messenger; god of cunning and wit.
Hera (Juno), sister and wife of Zeus; queen of the sky.
Athenê (Minerva), goddess of wisdom; the female counterpart of Apollo, as Hera was of Zeus.

[1] Good brief discussions of the value of these religious elements as bonds of union are found in Abbott, II. 24–31; Holm, I. 227–230; Curtius, I. 111–118. Advance students may consult Freeman's *Federal Government*, 123–143.


GREATER HELLAS
IONIAN
OTHER GREEK RACES
DORIAN
PHŒNICIAN
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
Longitude West
Longitude Ea
G A U L
LIGURES
Alps
Agathe
Massalia
Olbia
Rhoda
Emporiae
Pyrenees
IBERIA
Zacynthus
Hemeroskopion
Artemisia
Gades
BALEARIC ISLES
M E D I T E R
CORSICA
Alalia
SARDINIA
TYRRHENIAN SEA
ADRIATIC
Ancon
Palaiapolis
Kyme
Poseidonia
Thurioi
Panormus
Egesta
Mota
Selinus
Messene
Himera
Acragas
Gela
Naxos
Catana
Syra
Hippo
Thapsus
Ityke (Utica)
Karchedon (Carthage)
Hadrumetum
Leptis

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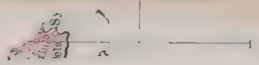

Artemis (Diana), goddess of the moon; goddess of hunting.
Aphroditê (Venus), goddess of love.
Demeter (Ceres), the earth goddess — controlling fertility.
Hestia (Vesta), the deity of the home; goddess of the hearth fire.

Exercise in Dates. — The Second Olympiad began ($776 - \overline{1 \times 4}$) 772 B.C. The second year of the Fourth Olympiad was ($776 - 3 \times 4 - 1$) 763 B.C. What is our date for the fourth year of the One Hundred and First Olympiad? What were the Greek dates for 371, 404, and 490 B.C.

Special Topics. — 1. The Delphic Oracle and its famous utterances (Herodotus, ii. 54–57; Curtius, II. 10–55; Grote, I. 65–69; Grant, 20–26; Holm, I. 230–236). 2. Herodotus' account of the oracle of Dodona, and the attempt to rationalize the *dove* (Herodotus, ii. 54). 3. The Olympic Games (Gardner, *New Chapters*, 273–302; Curtius, II. 27–35; Grote, IV. 75–79; Holm, I. 236–241; Grant, 26–33). 4. Other leading religious festivals (Curtius, II. 27–35; Grote, IV. 79–98; Holm, I. 241–242).

IV. THE MAP: COLONIZATION.

A. First Period, Readjustments in the Aegean, to 900 B.C.

101. Cause and General Character. — The immediate cause of the first great movements of population in Greece that we can trace was the Dorian invasion (§ 98). These conquerors and the dispossessed Achaeans, who were seeking new homes, jostled other tribes into motion over all the peninsula. The age was one of rearrangements and of moderate expansion into the Aegean.

102. Results to Civilization in General. — The Dorian conquest in itself must have seemed a blow to civilization. The ancient glories of the Peloponnesus were trampled out, and that peninsula lost forever its leadership in Hellenic culture. But other districts, especially Attica, strengthened themselves by incorporating the more enterprising of the fleeing peoples; and fugitives carried the seeds of Greek civilization to the islands and coasts of the Aegean. Some of these districts were partly Greek before, but now important Hellenic reënforcements arrived, and the old non-Hellenic elements were driven out.

103. Political Results. — In nearly all Greece it came to pass that a conquering aristocracy ruled a conquered peasantry, usually of different race. Thus a basis was laid for the bitter class struggles within Greek cities in later times.

104. The Hellenizing of the Asiatic Coast of the Aegean. — One phase of the expansion of Greek culture in this period deserves special mention. This is the Hellenizing of the Asiatic coast. A great body of Ionian refugees, passing through Attica, crossed the sea to the central coast of Asia Minor. There they founded or conquered twelve great cities, of which Miletus and Ephesus were the most important. The whole district took the name *Ionia*, and was united in a religious amphictyony. Just to the north, a confused mass of fugitives from central Greece founded a group of twelve *Aeolian* cities (also with an amphictyony), while to the south was established a smaller circle of *Dorian* colonies.

B. Second Period, Wider Colonization, 800–600 B.C.

105. Character and Causes. — The real *territorial expansion* came a century later. The movement went on for two hundred years, and doubled the area of Hellas, carrying it far beyond its Aegean home. Curiously, this dispersion came just when the Hellenes were growing to look upon themselves as a distinct race (§ 98). In this period of true colonization *the colonies were trading stations*, not settlements of fugitives. They resulted not from foreign force, but from state policy: one group to secure to the mother city a monopoly of the Thracian gold and silver mines; another to control the corn trade of southern Russia. Social and political motives coöperated with such aims. The old cities were glad to find a vent for their rapidly increasing population, especially as a tendency to class struggles just at that time (§ 108) made the presence of discontented elements a political peril. Sometimes, indeed, the colonists were a defeated faction in a civic conflict. The mother city, however, always gave the sacred fire for the new

city hearth, and appointed the "founder," to establish the new settlement with appropriate religious rites and to distribute the mixed inhabitants, who thronged in from all sides, into artificial tribes and gentes, after the fashion of Greek society. The colonists ceased absolutely to be citizens in their old home, and the new city enjoyed complete independence. Each colony recognized its religious and social obligations to its "metropolis," but neither mother nor daughter city thought of converting the relation into a political union. Corinth for a time made an exception; that city did retain some political supremacy over its colonies. And Athens in a later period adopted another form of colonization, of which we shall have occasion to speak (§§ 133, 190).

106. Distribution of Colonies. — The map shows the distribution of the colonies. To the east, some sixty settlements fringed the *Black Sea* and its straits; on the west, Sicily and southern Italy became almost wholly Greek, taking the proud name of *Magna Graecia*. The one city of Chalcis (in Euboea) founded thirty-two colonies in *Thrace*. Among the more important cities established in this period were *Syracuse* in Sicily, *Tarentum* in Italy, *Corcyra* in the Adriatic, *Massilia* (Marseilles) in Gaul, *Olynthus* in Thrace, *Cyrene* in Africa, and *Byzantium* on the Bosphorus. No one of the scores of these colonies was an inland settlement.

References for Further Reading. — Oman, ch. vi.; Holm, I. 272–294; Abbott, I. chs. iv. and xi.; Greenidge, 36–45; Curtius, I. 432–500. See Freeman's *Greater Greece and Greater Britain* for a comparison with modern colonies.

Special Report. — The method of founding colonies, illustrated by the story of some particular foundation.

V. THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION.

107. The Kings overthrown by the Chiefs. — During the obscure period the old "kings" disappeared from every Greek city except Sparta and Argos; and in those the Homeric king-

ship was modified. Religious feeling determined the general character of the change. An Homeric king had had the triple functions of priest, judge, and war chief. Plainly, the last could least safely be left to the accident of birth; accordingly, it was this function that was first made elective. Then, as judicial work increased, with the more complex city life, special judges were chosen to take over that part of the king's work. The priestly dignity (powerless of itself, and connected most closely with family descent) was left longest a matter of inheritance: in some cities we find a "king-archon" (*basileus archon*) for city priest, from the old royal family, long after all other sign of royalty had vanished; and in democratic Athens, all through her later history, the same title of king-archon was given to the *elected* city priest.

This was the general order, then, of the change by which the rule of the king became the rule of "the few." The process was gradual and commonly peaceful. The means and occasion varied. A disputed succession, the dying out of a royal line, a minor or weak king, — any of these conditions would make it easy for the nobles to encroach upon the royal power.[1]

108. The Oligarchies overthrown by the Tyrants. — The origin of the oligarchies varied. The original aristocratic or oligarchic element consisted of the council of clan elders. But sometimes the families of a few greater chiefs had come to overshadow the rest; sometimes, possibly, the various branches of one royal clan established their rule; in places, groups of conquering families ruled the descendants of the conquered; sometimes, perhaps, wealth *helped* to draw the line between "the few" and "the many," though the distinction was always based fundamentally upon blood. Whatever the exact principle of division, there was in all Greek cities a sharp line between two classes — one calling itself "the few," "the good," "the noble," and another called by these "the many," "the bad," "the base." "The few" had succeeded the kings. "The

[1] For instances, see Coulanges' *Ancient City*, 238, 239, and 316.

many" were oppressed and misgoverned, and began to clamor for relief. They were too ignorant as yet to govern themselves or to maintain themselves against the more intelligent and better united "few." The way was prepared for them by the tyrants.

109. The Tyrants pave the Way for Democracies. — Everywhere in city Greece, about 700 B.C., these tyrants sprang up,[1] often several times, at short intervals, in the same city. In the outlying parts of Hellas they were a common phenomenon through all the later history, but by the year 500 they had disappeared from the main peninsula, and so the two centuries from 700 to 500 B.C. are called the "Age of Tyrants."

A tyrant in Greek history is simply a man who by force seizes or holds royal power. Arbitrary rule was hateful to all Greeks, and the murder of a tyrant seemed a virtuous act. Sometimes, too, the selfish and wanton indulgence of such rulers justified the detestation that clings to the name. But at the worst the tyrants seem to have been a necessary evil, to break down the greater evil of the selfish, anarchic oligarchies; and many of them were generous, far-sighted, beneficent rulers, building public works, developing trade, patronizing art and literature. The tyrant was made possible by the strife between the ruling few and the oppressed many, and he always appeared as champion of the democracy. Sometimes he was a noble opposed by his order; sometimes by birth a man of the people. At Argos, King Pheidon massacred the nobles and made himself tyrant, without the city passing through a complete oligarchic stage.

The tyrants surrounded themselves with mercenaries, but they sought also to keep the favor of the masses, who had helped them to the throne. The nobles they could not conciliate; these they burdened with taxes, oppressed, exiled, and murdered in great numbers. The story goes that Periander, tyrant of Corinth, sent to the tyrant of Miletus, to ask

[1] Sparta was the only city that did not have a tyrant at this period.

his advice in government. The Milesian took the messenger through a grain field, striking off the finest and tallest ears as they walked, and sent him back without other answer. The story certainly does stand for what necessarily became, to some degree, the policy of all tyrants toward the nobles. And thus, when the tyrants themselves were overthrown, democracy had a fairer chance of success. In the Ionian cities, the next step was usually a democratic government. In Doric Greece, more commonly there followed a return to a broader aristocracy, but never to quite the older and more objectionable form of oligarchy. The tyrants had done their work effectively.

References for Reading. — On the political development: the standard histories, and Coulanges, Fowler, and Greenidge, 12–23. On Oligarchies: Greenidge, 60–73. On Tyrants: Mahaffy, *Problems*, 78–86, or *Survey*, 99–101, or *Social Life*, 84–90; Greenidge, 27–35; Grote, ch. ix.

Exercise. — Contrast the "tyrants" with the Homeric kings as to origin of power, as to limitation by custom and public opinion, as to security in their positions.

VI. THE RISE OF SPARTA.

110. Early Sparta: the Need of Reforms; Subsequent Growth. — The invading Dorians founded numerous petty states in the Peloponnesus. For a time one of the weakest of these was Sparta. Her territory — just a few square miles in the rich Eurotas valley — did not approach the sea, and it was surrounded by powerful and grasping neighbors. Internally, too, Sparta was torn by faction.

The later Spartans attributed their escape from these threatening conditions to the reforms of a certain *Lycurgus*. Certainly about the year 900 B.C., whether the reformer's name was Lycurgus or not, the Spartans did adopt peculiar social and political institutions that made them a marked people in later Greek history. Disciplined and hardened by this code, they entered upon a career of conquest. Before 700 B.C. they had subdued all Laconia; before 650, Messenia also; while the

other states of the Peloponnesus, except hostile Argos, had become their allies for war.

111. The Political Constitution. — Sparta had two kings. Legend ascribed this to the birth of twin princes. Whatever the occasion, the nobles in this city weakened the royal power by dividing it, and so were less tempted to abolish it. In consequence, Sparta is the one Greek city which had no tyrant in this period. The kings were members of a *senate* of thirty elders — originally, no doubt, the heads of Sparta's thirty clans. The other twenty-eight senators, however, had become elective, but only from the old noble families.[1] The office was for life. No one under sixty years was eligible. The senate for the greater part of Spartan history was the chief political body in the state. *A popular Assembly* of all free Spartans chose senators and other officers, and decided important matters laid before it, but it had no right to introduce new measures. Discussion was limited to the chiefs and great officers, and at a later time the senate secured the power, "if the people decide anything crookedly, to put it back."

So far this was a close survival of the Homeric constitution, except that the two kings checked each other's authority, and that the Assembly elected the council. But about 725 B.C. Sparta took a great stride toward democracy. Elected magistrates, called *Ephors*, assumed the headship of the state. Five of these were chosen each year by the Assembly, and any Spartan was eligible to the office. The Ephors called the Assembly and presided over it, and acted as judges in all important matters. No appeal from their decision was allowed. One or more of them accompanied the king, even in war, with power to control

[1] Aristotle, *Politics*, ii. 9. Aristotle calls the mode of election "childish." The candidates were led through the assembly in turn, and as each passed, the people shouted. Judges, shut up in a room from which they could not see the candidates, listened to the shouts and gave the vacancy to the one whose appearance had called out the loudest welcome. This method, after all, has an interesting relation to our *viva-voce* voting, where we decide, in the first instance, by noise.

his movements and to arrest and condemn him. The kings had now become simply priests, judges in certain unimportant matters of family law, generals in war, and members of the senate. Sparta kept the form and dignity of ancient royalty, and she was intensely aristocratic in feeling, but in reality she was *a military democracy under the annual dictatorship of an elected committee of Ephors.*

To the Greeks, however, such delegation of power, even to officers elected for short terms, seemed undemocratic. They would not have called our government by President, Congress, and Supreme Court a democracy at all.[1] To them democracy meant a government in which each freeman took somewhat the same part that a member of Congress does with us — a system such that each citizen voted, not occasionally, to elect representatives, but constantly, on all matters of great state policy, which matters also he might discuss in the ruling assembly of his city-country. By this standard Sparta was aristocratic.

112. Classes in Laconia. — Moreover, after the conquest of Laconia, the Spartans as a whole were a ruling oligarchy in the midst of a subject class eight or ten times their number. They were simply a camp of eight or nine thousand conquerors (with their families) living under arms in their unwalled city, and holding the most fertile lands of Laconia. They themselves, wholly given to camp life, could not work, and each man's land was tilled by certain slaves of the state, called Helots.

The *Helots* numbered four or five to one Spartan, and so made a standing danger, though they were the indispensable basis for any such system. They furnished light-armed troops in war. A secret police of active Spartan youth busied itself in detecting plots among them and sometimes, it is claimed, carried out secret and widespread massacre of the more intelligent and ambitious slaves. Each year, too, the Ephors declared war against the Helots in the name of the State, —

[1] A good treatment is found in Grant's *Greece*, 144–146.

that it might be lawful for any Spartan to kill them without trial, — and ancient critics are prone to refer to the mysterious way in which crowds of Helots vanished sometimes, when their numbers threatened Spartan safety. On one occasion, in the great death struggle with Athens in the fifth century, the Spartans had given the Helots heavy armor, but afterward became terrified at the possible consequences. Thucydides (iv. 80) tells how they met the danger: —

"They proclaimed that a selection would be made of those Helots who claimed to have rendered the best service to the Lacedaemonians in the war, and promised them liberty. The announcement was intended to test them; it was thought that those among them who were foremost in asserting their freedom would be most high-spirited and most likely to rise against their masters. So they selected about two thousand, who were crowned with garlands, and went in procession round the temples; they were supposed to have received their liberty, but not long afterwards the Spartans put them all out of the way, and no man knew how any of them came to their end."

The inhabitants of the hundred small subject "cities" of Laconia were called *Perioeci*. They were free in person. They kept their own customs and a share in the government of their respective cities, under the supervision of Spartan harmosts. They had also their own lands, and they carried on such trades and commerce as existed in Laconia. They were three or four to one Spartan; and the heavy-armed soldiers of the Spartan army came in large measure from them. They had no voice in the supreme state, and the Ephors could put them to death without trial, but they seem, as a rule, to have been well treated and well content.

Thus the inhabitants of Laconia fall into three classes: (1) a small ruling oligarchy, living in one central settlement, and itself in the form of an elective military dictatorship; (2) a large class of cruelly treated agricultural serfs, to support these aristocratic soldiers; (3) another large class of well-treated city populations, without political rights except for a limited local self-government.

113. Social Institutions. — The garrison at Sparta maintained its superiority in Laconia by an unrelaxing vigilance and by a rigid discipline, which is sometimes lauded as "the Spartan training." That training made good soldiers, as was its sole aim; but naturally it was harsh, and in many ways brutalizing. The family, as well as the man, belonged absolutely to the army-state.

At the birth of each child, the Ephors decided whether it should be reared at all or be exposed to die as a weakling. At seven years each boy was taken from his parents, to be trained in a public institution until he was twenty — never again to sleep under his mother's roof. The system of education aimed to harden and strengthen the body and to render the mind self-controlled and obedient to authority. On certain festival days, boys were whipped at the altars to test their endurance; and Plutarch states that they often died under the lash rather than utter a cry.[1] A bare knowledge of reading and a little martial music were the only germs of culture.

From twenty to thirty the youth lived under arms in barracks. He was one of a mess of fifteen, each of whom must provide from his land his part of the barley meal, cheese, and black broth, with meat on holidays. The mess drilled and fought side by side; and this long exclusive devotion to military drill made it possible for the Spartans to adopt a more complex system of tactics than was natural for their neighbors. The other Greeks continued much longer to fight in masses, with a few heralds to shout the orders of the general. The Spartans were trained in small regiments and companies, so as to maneuver readily at the word of command. This made their great superiority in the field; they stood to the other Greeks as disciplined, professional soldiery to a relatively untrained militia.

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[1] Several features of Spartan life that are ascribed by popular legend to Lycurgus, seem rather to have been survivals of a barbarous period that the Spartans never wholly outgrew; this particular custom, just alluded to in the text, is closely analogous to the savage Sun Dance of the American Indians and belongs properly to that grade of culture.

At thirty the man was required by law to marry, in order to rear more soldiers; but he must still eat and, for the most part, live, in barracks. Said an Athenian, "The Spartan's life is so unendurable that it is no wonder he throws it away lightly in battle."

Certain virtue there was, of course, in this training. The Spartans had the quiet dignity of born rulers. The pithy brevity of their speech ("laconic" speech), their use of only iron money, and their austere simplicity of life, made them a moral force in the Greek world; and the changeless character of their constitution for five hundred years after the introduction of the Ephors was a protest against the kaleidoscopic revolutions of surrounding states. Their women, too, kept a freedom which unhappily was lost in more civilized Greek cities. But, after all, the value of the Spartans to the world lay in the fact that they made a garrison for all Greece (§ 156), and helped to save something better than themselves. In themselves, they were hard, ignorant, narrow. They did nothing to create art, literature, science, or philosophy. So far as they were concerned, these glories of Greece never had an existence. If the Greeks had all been Spartans, we could well afford to omit the study of Greek history.

References for Further Reading. — Xenophon's *Polity of the Lacedaemonians* (Dakyns' edition); some pages of valuable extracts, with questions, in Fling's *Studies in Greek and Roman Civilization*. Plutarch's *Lycurgus* and *Lysander;* Curtius, I. 175–315; Grote, II. 337–466 (12 vol. ed.); Holm, I. 194–278, and 430–447; Abbott, I. 194–224; Greenidge, 77–115; Gilbert, 1–81; Oman, chs. vii. viii.

VII. ATHENS TO 500 B.C.

The history of Athens is for us the history of Greece. — Holm.

A. Preliminary Considerations.

114. Two Peculiar Conditions did much to fix the place of Athens in Greek history: (1) *Athens was the sole city of Attica* (a considerable territory); (2) her population was *mingled of*

many elements, but without the sharp divisions that elsewhere followed conquest by aliens.

As to the first consideration: Sparta and Athens became leading cities in Greece because they, and they alone, were *more* than single cities. They had both carried the political consolidation of neighboring territory farther than any other Greek state. In other territories as large as Attica or Laconia there were always groups of independent cities. In Boeotia, for instance, Thebes at best could aspire to only a limited leadership among a dozen jealous rivals. In Attica, happily, the germs of such separate cities had been consolidated in one. What Sparta was to Laconia by later conquest, Athens had become to Attica before the opening of history — and something over. It had carried consolidation further. It was the real home of all the free inhabitants of Attica, not merely the camp of one dominant tribe. In Laconia political union came through *subjection*, which left lasting class distinctions between a ruling city and the other Laconians. In Attica union came through *incorporation*, which wiped out such distinctions of locality. In legend Lycurgus, made the Spartans an army to hold down neighboring hostile subjects, while Theseus made all inhabitants of Attica Athenians.

As to the second consideration: Ionian Attica seems to have been the one spot of southern Greece not overrun by conquest at the time of the Dorian migration. Naturally, it became an asylum for refugees, especially for Ionian clans driven from the Peloponnesus. The wealthier and more powerful of these were admitted into the tribes of Attica; others, no doubt, were received as dependants. It followed that subsequent class struggles were less bitter than in most of Greece, where class divisions were connected with ancient conquests and race hatreds, instead of with friendly patronage.

115. Other Causes favoring a Many-sided Development. — The repeated introduction of fresh elements from many sources, under such conditions, in itself made for a progressive, demo-

cratic people, open to outside influence. Happily, the tendency was reënforced by the later commercial life of Athens, to which her thin soil impelled her no less than location tempted her.

116. Athens as a Type. — Despite her peculiar conditions, it is right and convenient to regard Athens as a type. Hellas comprised hundreds of cities, each with its internal history of progress and revolution, and with its foreign relations. No study can survey many of these. Sparta and Athens are selected because they became the leading states. Sparta, however, is less fit than Athens to stand for the history of Greece; and even Athens exaggerates the size, the democracy, and the many-sidedness of the average city.

The chief danger, however, is that the student will not realize the infinite complexity of Greek history, and that he will think of Athens as the whole, instead of as a type. It must be borne in mind constantly that the internal history of this city was paralleled, with slight modifications, by that of scores of others which this volume does not even name.

B. Eupatrid Rule — after the First Political Revolution.

117. The Decline of the Homeric Kingship. — Like other Greek cities, Athens had lost her kings in the obscure period following the Migrations (§ 107); and when history begins again, her government is an oligarchy. According to the common tradition, restrictions upon the royal power began in Athens about 1000 B.C., after the death of *King Codrus*. The royal office was still for life, and hereditary in the family of Codrus, but alongside the *king-archon* (*basileus*) with his priestly function, arose a new *war-archon* (*polemarch*), and — a little later, perhaps — a chief-archon, usually styled *The Archon*, to act as judge and administrator. These latter officers were elected by the Eupatrids ("well-born"), or chiefs; and in 752 B.C., the office of king-archon also was made elective and limited to a ten years' term. For some time, however, the choice was still made

from the old royal family; then it was thrown open to any Eupatrid. In 682 B.C. the archons were all made annual officers; and alongside them were set six lesser archons, called "decision-givers," to assist in the growing judicial work.

118. Political Rule of the Eupatrids. — Apparently the Eupatrids were the chiefs, or clan elders, of the numerous clans in Attica. Their council was called the Areopagus, from the hill where it met. They ruled Attica in this assembly and through this committee of archons from their own number. The other tribesmen must have had an assembly for religious and military purposes; but it seems to have had even less voice than in Homeric times.

119. Economic Oppression. — The worst hardships of the tribesmen, however, were economic. Most of the land had come to belong to the Eupatrids. They tilled it largely by tenants, who paid five sixths the produce for rent. A bad season or hostile ravages often compelled these tenants to borrow seed or food, and to mortgage their persons for payment. If the debtor failed to pay promptly, he could be dragged off in chains and sold with his family into slavery.[1]

Apparently, alongside the great Eupatrid landlords and these tenants, there stood a class of small farmers owning their lands; but they also were reduced frequently to borrow of the Eupatrids, and in consequence to pass into much the condition of the poorer tenants. Aristotle says: —

"The poor with their wives and children were the very bondsmen of the rich, who named them Sixth-men, because it was for this wage they tilled the land. The entire land was in the hands of a few. If the poor failed to pay their rents they were liable to be haled into slavery. Their

[1] Money had been introduced a little before this time. Eventually it was to help free the poor from the control of the rich, but just at first it may have rendered worse the condition of the agricultural tenants. The old rents (a given fraction of the produce) had varied from year to year according to the crops. In changing to fixed cash rents, probably the grasping landlords, able to dictate terms, put the amount higher than the old average.

very persons were mortgaged, until Solon's time; for it was he first advocated the people's cause." And again — "They [the people] were discontented with every other feature of their lot, for, to speak generally, they had no share in anything." — *Constitution of Athens*, 2.

120. The Order of Reform, Social and Political. — By 593 B.C. very different institutions, political and economic, had come into being, but the steps from the old order to the new are in part uncertain. It does seem clear, however, that the first attempts at reform were only partially successful, because they did not touch these social conditions; and that Solon's work at the close of the period was more important mainly because it did begin with the economic evils.

C. The Early Attempts to Overthrow the Eupatrids.

121. Eupatrid Supremacy shared with the Hoplites. — The supremacy of the Eupatrids rested largely on superiority in war. They composed the *knights*, or heavy-armed cavalry of Attica, in comparison with whom the early foot soldiery was only a light-armed mob. But before 650 B.C. there had grown up a heavy-armed infantry, with shield, helmet, and long spear.

Greek Hoplite.

The serried ranks of these "hoplites" proved able to repel cavalry; and with the decay of the importance of the Eupatrids in war went some decrease in their exclusive political privilege.[1]

122. The Four Classes: Political Power based in part upon Wealth. — Better to maintain the military system, a census distributed the tribesmen into four classes, based upon annual

[1] Read Abbott, II. 22.

income from land — 500-measure men, 300-measure men, 200-measure men, and those whose income was less than 200 measures. The first two classes were under obligation to serve as knights, and were doubtless at this time all Eupatrids; the third class were thought able to equip themselves as hoplites; the fourth class were called into the field less often and only as light-armed troops.

This system, designed *to regulate obligation* to the State, became also, to some degree, a basis for the *distribution of privilege*. From the three higher classes (all the heavy-armed soldiery) was formed a new Assembly, which elected archons (from the first class) and other officers and created a new elective senate to take some of the power of the Areopagus. The exact details of this "Constitution of Classes" are so uncertain that it seems best to leave them to be stated as they appear more clearly after the legislation of Solon (§ 125 ff.).

Much that was attributed to Solon by tradition and by ancient historians, and until recently by modern authorities, is credited to these earlier changes, in a lately discovered treatise by Aristotle on the Athenian constitution. Aristotle wrote, of course, over three hundred years after these early reforms; and while his authority makes the old accounts uncertain, it does not always establish a satisfactory substitute.

123. Imperfect Results; Attempts at Tyranny. — In practice, however, authority certainly remained with the old oligarchy, who seemed as securely intrenched under the new system by their monopoly of land as they had been before by birth. The hoplites, too, must have come largely from their immediate dependents. Their rule continued selfish and incompetent, and nothing had been done to remedy the economic distress. Finally, ambitious adventurers began to try to make themselves tyrants by help of the bitter dissatisfaction of the people, and one young noble, *Cylon*, with his forces, actually held the Acropolis, or citadel, for a time.

124. Draco: Fixed Laws. — The Eupatrids were frightened into further concessions, and in 621 B.C. one of the archons, Draco, was commissioned to draw up a written code of laws,

for which the people had been clamoring. Oftentimes the old custom-law was known only to the Eupatrid judges; the growing complexity of society must have made new regulations needful; and the judges had to meet these needs by their own arbitrary discretion. The people did not yet ask for new laws, but only for fixed and known laws, so that the judges should have a smaller range of discretion to abuse in the interests of their own class.[1]

It seems probable that Draco only reduced ancient customs to more definite form. If any changes were made, they must have concerned some slight rearrangements of political power, without touching the root of existing evils.[2] The laws were engraved on wooden blocks and set up where all might see them. The immediate result was to make men feel how inadequate and harsh the old laws were — "written in blood rather than ink," as was said in a later age. Now the Athenians were ready to demand new laws.

D. Solon — Overthrow of the Eupatrids.

125. Continued Strife; Appointment of Solon as Dictator. — After describing matters as Draco left them, Aristotle says: —

"Now, seeing that such was the organization of the constitution, and that the many were [still] in slavery to the few, the people arose against the upper classes. The strife was keen, and for a long time the parties were in hostile camps, till at last by common consent they appointed Solon to be mediator."

Solon — poet, general, statesman, philosopher, merchant — was a descendant of Codrus. He was loved by the poorer Athenians and trusted by all. His patriotism had been proven. Some years before, class dissensions had so reduced Athens

[1] It is curious to see elsewhere similar demands by the people upon the aristocrats for written laws — as in Rome at the time of the Decemvirs and the Twelve Tables, and even in early Massachusetts, before the adoption of the *Body of Liberties*, the first code in America, in 1641.

[2] Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* is the only authority for ascribing political changes to Draco; and such changes are denied by another work of Aristotle (*Politics*, ii. 12).

that little Megara, under the firm rule of an enterprising "tyrant," had taken Salamis and blockaded the Athenian ports. Efforts to recover the important island failed so miserably that in despair the Athenians had agreed to put to death any one who should again propose the attempt. Solon shammed madness, — to claim a crazy man's privilege, — and, by reciting a warlike patriotic poem, roused his countrymen to fresh efforts, which, under his generalship, proved successful. Now, in this crisis of affairs, all factions concurred in giving him authority to remodel the constitution. Solon had blamed the greed of the rich as the cause of trouble, but had urged reconcilation, in a poem beginning, "My eyes are opened, and I see with anguish the plight of this oldest home of the ancient Ionian race." This was the immediate occasion, Aristotle says, of Solon's appointment. The Delphic oracle advised him to make himself tyrant, and his friends certainly hoped that he would not lay down his power He was really an "elected tyrant" for two years.[1]

126. The Shaking off of Burdens. — The first year Solon dealt with economic evils.

a. Out of the old tenants he created a class of free peasant proprietors. The lands which they had cultivated for the Eupatrids he made their own; he boasts in a poem of "freeing the enslaved land" by removing the stone pillars (of religious significance) which had marked Eupatrid worship.[2]

b. He canceled all debts.[3]

c. He freed all Athenians who were in slavery in Attica.

d. He made it illegal, for the future, to reduce Athenians to slavery, or to own more than a certain quantity of land.

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[1] This is Aristotle's expression (*Politics*, iii. 14, and iv. 10).

[2] This view is not always accepted. Many scholars think that Solon simply canceled mortgages, and made the future transfer of land easier by removing religious obstacles.

[3] It used to be doubted whether all debts, or only part of them, were canceled, but Aristotle's treatise is clear on this point. Interest was so high that in many cases the principal had been paid over and over.

The last regulation aimed to prevent any recurrence of the old evils. The first three measures roughly redressed the past. They were, of course, a sweeping confiscation of property. The Eupatrids showed a singular moderation in submitting to them without a death struggle. Happily, the act did not become a precedent. The Athenians never again went so far as to confiscate debts. In later times the whole people celebrated the acts of Solon by a yearly "Festival of the Shaking off of Burdens."

127. Political Reform. — Indirectly, a political revolution went with these economic changes, although, so far, the letter of the constitution was untouched. Political power was already based upon landed property. Accordingly, these land reforms carried with them a redistribution of political power. The process continued, too, of itself. Merchants, by the purchase of land, rose into the first class, while Eupatrids sank into other classes until the very name soon disappeared. But, in a second year, Solon did *directly* introduce political changes that carried Athens well into the current of democracy. He seems not to have created new offices or institutions; but, as he had already redistributed the *people* within the old political classes, so now he redistributed *power* among these classes and among the old governing bodies.

a. The fourth class, who had had no political rights, were now admitted to the Assembly.

b. A senate of four hundred (one hundred by lot from the higher classes of each Athenian tribe) took over the general administration from the Areopagus, and prepared measures to submit to the Assembly.

c. The new Assembly (all Athenians) discussed and decided upon proposals of the senate; elected archons from the first class,[1] and minor officers from the three higher classes; and

[1] Aristotle says that by Solon's constitution the archons were chosen by lot from a hundred candidates nominated in equal numbers by the separate tribes. But if this was so, the practice of election seems to have been revived within a short time, and to have continued until 487 B.C. (§ 193).

tried officers at the expiration of their terms, if any citizen accused them.

d. The Areopagus was no longer a Eupatrid council. It was composed of ex-archons, and was shorn of most of its powers. Its deliberative and administrative office had gone to the senate; its power of electing archons to the Assembly; its judicial function (for the most part) to the Assembly and to new courts. It remained a court to try murder cases, and to exercise a moral censorship over the life of the citizens, with power to impose fines for extravagance, insolence, or gluttony.

128. Minor Reforms. — Solon also substituted a milder code for Draco's bloody laws, introduced a new coinage better suited for foreign commerce, made it the duty of each father to teach his son a trade (upon penalty of forfeiting obligation for support in his old age), limited the wealth that might be buried with the dead, restricted the appearance of women in public, and enacted that any Athenian who remained neutral in civic strife should forfeit citizenship.

129. Summary of the Solonian Constitution and of the Changes of a Century.

682 B.C. — A few noble families owned most of the soil, and held the rest of the people in virtual servitude. These same families of course possessed all political power, and ruled through the assembly of their order on the Areopagus, and through annual committees chosen by that body.

593 B.C. — Nearly all Athenian tribesmen were land owners. All tribesmen were members of the political Assembly, which elected officers (so far as election was not settled by lot), tried them upon occasion, and decided public questions. Administrative power rested partly in annual officers and partly in a senate chosen by tribes. Eligibility to office was based upon property qualification.[1]

[1] This was the case in nearly all the American states for some time after the Revolutionary War.

The economic change was all Solon's. The political reforms were largely his, and any that had been introduced before gained increased significance from his work. The lot was introduced, doubtless, to check the tendency to elect only the old chiefs. It was regarded as an appeal to the gods, and its use was always accompanied by religious ceremonies.

E. The Tyrants.

130. Anarchy Renewed. — The reforms of Solon did not end the turbulent strife of factions. Bitter feuds followed between the *Plain* (wealthy landowners), the *Shore* (merchants), and the *Mountain* (shepherds and small farmers). Twice within ten years, anarchy prevented the election of an archon at all, and once an archon tried to make himself tyrant by holding over without reëlection.

131. Peisistratus, 560–527. — From such anarchy the city was saved by Peisistratus, a kinsman of Solon, who in 560 B.C. made himself tyrant by help of the democratic faction. Twice the nobles drove him into exile, once for ten years, but each time he recovered his power almost without bloodshed. His rule was mild, wise, and popular. He lived simply, like other citizens, and appeared in a law court to answer in a suit against him; and he always treated the aged Solon with deep respect, despite the latter's bitter opposition. Indeed, he governed through the forms of Solon's constitution, and enforced his laws, taking care only to have his own friends elected to the chief offices, — more like the "boss" of a great political "machine" than like a "tyrant." During his third rule, however, he did secure himself by mercenary soldiers and by banishing many hostile nobles. He encouraged commerce, enlarged and beautified Athens, built aqueducts and roads, and drew to his court a brilliant circle of poets, painters, architects, and sculptors from all Hellas. The first complete edition of the Homeric poems is said to have been put together at his command and expense. *Anacreon* wrote his graceful odes at the

Peisistratid court, and *Thespis* began Greek tragedy at the magnificent festivals there instituted to Dionysus (god of wine). The public worship was given new splendor in other ways, and rural festivals were instituted to make country life more attractive. Solon's peasant proprietors were increased in number by the division of the confiscated estates of banished nobles among landless freemen. The three higher property classes paid a five per cent income tax (at first ten per cent), but in return they were taught the value of peace and order. Attica was no longer plundered by invasion or torn by dissension. Since the Athenians could not yet govern themselves, it was well they had a Peisistratus.

"Not only was he in every respect humane and mild and ready to forgive those who offended, but in addition he advanced money to the poorer people to help them in their labors.

"For the same reasons [to make rural life attractive] he instituted local justices, and often made expeditions in person into the country to inspect it, and to settle disputes between persons, that they might not come to the city and neglect their farms. It was in one of these progresses, as the story goes, that Peisistratus had his adventure with the man in the district of Hymettus, who was cultivating the spot afterwards known as the 'Tax-free Farm.' He saw a man digging at very stony ground with a stake, and sent and asked what he got out of such a plot of land. 'Aches and pains,' said the man, 'and out of these Peisistratus must get his tenth.' Peisistratus was so pleased with his frank speech and his industry that he granted him exemption from taxes." — Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 17.

132. Expulsion of the Peisistratidae. — In 527, Peisistratus was succeeded by his sons, Hippias and Hipparchus. The latter was murdered because of a private grudge, and the terrified Hippias exchanged his previous kindly rule for a cruel and suspicious policy that ripened revolt. *Cleisthenes*, one of the exiled nobles, saw his opportunity. His family (wealthy even in exile) had just rebuilt the burned temple of Apollo at Delphi with much greater magnificence than the contract had demanded, using Parian marble for the prescribed limestone; and now (according to Herodotus) Cleisthenes "bribed" the oracle to order

the Spartans, whenever they applied for advice on any matter, to "set free the Athenians." In consequence a reluctant Spartan army did finally march against Hippias, and he was expelled in 510 B.C.

F. Cleisthenes — A Democracy.

133. Vigor of Free Athens. — The Athenians were now in confusion again, but the outcome proved that they had gained in strength and in power to govern themselves. An oligarchic party that strove for a reaction was defeated by the democrats, led by the returned Cleisthenes. A Spartan army restored the oligarchs for a moment, but was itself soon besieged in the Acropolis, and captured by the aroused democracy. The Thebans and Euboeans had seized what seemed a time of confusion and weakness to invade Attica, but were routed by a double engagement in one day. The Athenians had enjoyed little fame in war, "but now," says Aristotle, "they showed that men would fight more bravely for themselves than for a master." Chalcis in Euboea was stormed, and its trade with Thrace (§ 105) fell to Athens. At the same time Athens began her special kind of colonization by sending four thousand citizens to possess the best land of Chalcis, and to serve as a garrison there. These men retained full Athenian citizenship. They were known as *cleruchs*, or out-settlers. In this way Athens was to find land for her surplus population, to strengthen her democratic tendencies, and to fortify her influence abroad — all without decreasing her fighting strength.

134. The Conditions and the Aims of the New Constitution. — During the war Athens made fresh strides toward completing the work of Solon by adopting a more democratic constitution, proposed by Cleisthenes. The general design was to develop the democratic features of the older constitution and to weaken the aristocratic ones. It also aimed to get rid of family and local faction, and to strengthen the state by bringing in new citizens.

The tendency to factiousness arose (*a*) from the method of

voting by clans and tribes in the Assembly, so that the clans rallied voluntarily each around its clan chief, and (*b*) from the continued jealousy of Plain, Shore, and Mountain.

The presence of a non-citizen class needs a longer explanation. Solon's reforms had concerned tribesmen only; and probably in his day few strangers lived permanently in Attica. But in the intervening ninety years, especially under the good rule of Peisistratus, the growing trade of Athens had drawn many aliens there. These were men of enterprise and sometimes of wealth; but though they lived in the city, they had no part in its religion, its politics, its law, or its society. No alien could marry an Athenian or hold land. The city might find it pay to protect his property, in order to attract other strangers to add to the prosperity of the State; but he had no secure legal rights of any kind, because law was a matter of city and clan religion. Nor could his son or his son's son, nor any later descendant, acquire any of these rights by residence in Athens. Society was based on blood relationship. By adoption into an Athenian clan, single strangers from time to time won positions as citizens; but only a revolution could bring the aliens as a class into the city. The descendants of fugitives and freedmen swelled their numbers, and, if not made a source of strength, their discontent might make them a danger.

This problem was not simply political, like the question of extending the suffrage among a modern people, because there was a religious barrier to be broken down, and because this religious element with the Greeks was the soul of the State. It was different, too, because the outsiders were asking, not political rights, but *status*, or legal standing. They wanted more secure property rights, and to get these, they had first to get admission into the religion of the city.

135. The Demes and Geographical Tribes. — The fundamental political change introduced by Cleisthenes was the substitution of geographical units for the old blood units (clans and

tribes). This was the soul of his reform, as the land legislation was of Solon's. Directly or indirectly, it made possible the correction of other chief evils. The plan itself was very simple. Attica was marked off into a hundred divisions called demes. Each citizen was enrolled in one of these, and his son after him. Such enrollment, instead of the old clan connection, became the proof of citizenship. Indeed, in future, a man took his surname from his deme, and no longer from his clan. The clan survived only for religious and social purposes. In all political respects it was superseded by the deme, which became the unit of local government within the city. Each deme had its demarch, or chief, its deme-assembly, and its deme-treasury.

Ten of these demes — not adjacent, but scattered as widely as possible so as to include the various local interests — composed a "tribe," or ward; and these artificial tribes replaced the old blood tribes in the Assembly. By this arrangement, a clan — whose members now made parts, perhaps, of several "tribes" — could no longer act politically as a unit. Thus the influence of the clan chiefs declined, and other citizens were more likely to be chosen to office. Shore and Mountain, too, no longer had distinct rallying points. This one device cut away the fulcrum of both family and local faction and also of aristocratic power. It helped likewise to solve the more difficult problem of admitting the non-citizen class (§ 136).

136. The State Enlarged. — When all old associations were being broken up and all citizens were being distributed in the new demes, it was comparatively easy for Cleisthenes to accomplish this other great reform and to enroll also the non-citizen class. Thus the *metics* (stranger-sojourners), of that day became citizens; and fresh, progressive, democratic influences were again incorporated into Athenian life.

It must not be supposed, however, that outlanders continued to gain admission in future, as with us, by easy naturalization. The act applied only to those then in Athens and to their

descendants. In a few years another metic class grew up, with all the old disadvantages. Such a class was a constant phenomenon in the ancient city democracies, where political power always rested on descent or adoption except for some wholesale revolutionary incorporations, like the one just described. It is true that now for a while the Athenians did permit intermarriage with aliens, and that the children of such marriages became full citizens, but the older exclusive rule was afterward restored.[1]

137. The Power of the Assembly was greatly enlarged. Any citizen might now introduce new business directly, and the senate was expected to submit to the Assembly all matters of importance. The Assembly also elected archons and other officers, and tried them. It dealt with foreign affairs, taxation, and even with the details of military campaigns. To be sure, it took time for the Assembly to realize its full power and to learn how to control its various agents, but its rise to supreme authority was now only a matter of natural growth (§ 194).

138. Minor Reforms. — The *senate* was enlarged to five hundred — fifty by lot from each of the ten "tribes." The five hundred divided themselves into ten committees of fifty each, and one of these committees was always in session. Ten generals, or *strategi*, were elected annually from Solon's first three classes, to share the control of military matters with the polemarch. The *archons* and the *Areopagus* were not seriously affected.

139. Ostracism. — The most peculiar and original device of Cleisthenes aimed in another way to prevent faction. Solon had thought civil strife inevitable, and had sought only to force all to take sides, so that the bad man might not win through the indifference of the multitude. Cleisthenes tried by ingenious means to head off civil strife altogether. Once

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[1] Advanced students will find an excellent brief discussion of "citizenship" under the Cleisthenian constitution in Botsford's *Athenian Constitution*, 198–199.

a year the Assembly was given a chance to vote by ballot (on pieces of pottery, "ostraka"), each one against any man whom he deemed dangerous to the State. If six thousand votes were cast, the man receiving the largest number went into honorable exile for ten years. The plan was abused by politicians to remove, not dangerous men, but personal rivals, and was dropped after about a century. Only three or four cities ever imitated it.[1]

References for Further Reading. — For the overthrow of kingship at Athens, see Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* and references at the close of Division V.

For reforms during Solon's time the young student can hardly read widely to advantage. Plutarch's *Solon* may be used. For advanced students, Gilbert's *Constitutional Antiquities*, 95–142, is the best modern discussion; Botsford's *Athenian Constitution* is valuable; Aristotle's is the oldest work. Much valuable matter will be found in the following works: — Oman, chs. xi. xii.; Holm, I. ch. xxvi.; Abbott, I. ch. xiii.; Curtius, bk. ii. ch. ii.; Grote, III. chs. x. xi.; Greenidge, ch. vi.

For the Peisistratidae, references for *the Tyrants* at close of Division V. Also Curtius, bk. ii. ch. ii.; Oman, ch. xii.; Holm, I. ch. xxvii.; Grote, ch. xxx.

For Cleisthenes, Grote, ch. xxxi.; Gilbert, 145–153.

Topics. — 1. Pittacus of Mitylene; comparison with Solon. 2. Pheidon of Argos. 3. Was the Greek tyrant a good or an evil?

SUGGESTION FOR TABULAR REVIEW OF ATHENIAN CONSTITUTIONS.

Let the class complete the tables on page 128, and make others for the constitution of Cleisthenes. Use the same device later for the constitution at the time of Pericles.

Legislation, it must be understood, is not an ordinary function of government until a late period when society has become highly complex. In the early period, men expect to make *new* laws, if at all, only through some legislative dictator like Solon. The column for legislation in these tables must be left blank for all early constitutions; in Athens, until the time of Pericles.

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[1] But see Grote's defense of party use of ostracism in Athens in the next century. Grote's argument is a good subject for a report by a student, in connection with the later Athenian history. Note also Grote's view as to the number of votes required, and see Aristotle for the statement in the text.

Eupatrid Constitution.

Elements.	Legislation.	Judicatory.	Administration.	Religion.
Archons, 9; elected annually from and by the Eupatrids.		"The Archon" is chief judge; the six lesser archons assist.	"The Archon" is chief civil administrator. War archon is leader in war.	King Archon is high priest of the State.
Areopagus — a life-council of the Eupatrids.		An important tribunal.	General oversight.	General oversight.
Assembly — Athenian tribesmen.			Meets for military purposes.	Meets for religious purposes.

Constitution of Solon.

Elements.	Legislation.	Judicatory.	Administration.	Religion.
Archons, 9; elected annually from the first class by Assembly.		As before.	As before.	As before.
Areopagus — Exarchons, for life.		Fill in.	Fill in.	Fill in.
Senate, 400; 100 from each tribe, chosen annually by lot from the higher classes.			Fill in.	
Assembly — Athenian tribesmen, arranged in four property classes.			Fill in.	Fill in.

EXERCISES: QUESTIONS ON THE CONSTITUTIONS. — *For the Eupatrid constitution.* — 1. What in this constitution represents the monarchic element of Homer's time? 2. What the aristocratic? 3. What the democratic? 4. Which element has made a decided gain in power? 5. Which has lost most? 6. Which of the three is least important? 7. Which most important? 8. What is the basis of citizenship? 9. What is the basis for the distribution of power among those who are citizens?

For the constitution of Solon.[1] — 1. What is the basis of citizenship? 2. What is the basis for distribution of power among the citizens? 3. Was the introduction of the senate a gain for the aristocratic or democratic element? 4. What powers did the Assembly gain? 5. Which two of these powers enabled the Assembly to control the administration?

VIII. INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL LIFE.

This brilliant, jostling society, which had just awakened to national consciousness, which had been sowing Hellenic cities broadcast along the Mediterranean shores, and which was now developing political democracy, was marked also by new forms of intellectual activity.

140. Architecture, Painting, and Sculpture, all began to show a Greek character, though none of them yet reached full bloom. The chief centers of such arts in this period were Miletus and Ephesus in Ionia, and Athens under Peisistratus.

141. Lyric Poetry. — In poetry there was a more complete development. Verse is older than prose; and in this age Solon argued his politics, and Thales his philosophy, in verse. This section, however, is concerned with that poetry which is more properly literature.

The earlier Greek poetry had been made up of narrative *ballads*, celebrating wars and heroes, sung by wandering bards and harpers. The form and meter were simple and uniform. The longer and greater of such compositions rose to *epic* poetry, of which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were the great examples. Their epoch is called the *Epic Age*.

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[1] Students should be able to answer similar questions on the later constitutions of Athens; and it would be a good exercise for the class to make out the questions for themselves.

In contrast, the seventh and sixth centuries are styled the *Lyric Age.* The prevailing poetry consisted of odes and songs in a great variety of complex meters — expressive of the more varied life of the time. These poems (to be accompanied by the *lyre*) were descriptive of *feelings* rather than of outward events. Love and pleasure are the common themes; and, if a story is told at all, it is always in order to appeal to some emotion. The more famous poets of the period are grouped below.

a. Lyric and Elegiac Poets. — Seventh and sixth centuries.

From Lesbos: *Alcaeus; Arion*, patronized by Periander, tyrant of Corinth; *Sappho*, whom the ancients were wont to designate simply "the poetess," just as they referred to Homer as "the poet"; *Terpander.*

From Ceos: *Simonides*, whose odes incited to Hellenic patriotism, and who lived over into the next age.

From Teos: *Anacreon* (§ 130).

From Paros: *Archilochus*, who wrote war songs.

From Ephesus: *Callinus.*

From Attica (?): *Tyrtaeus*, a war poet at Sparta in the Second Messenian War.

From Ionia (?), but living at Sparta: *Alcman.*

From Sicily: *Stesichorus.*

From Megara: *Theognis*, poet of the oligarchs against the people.

From Boeotia: *Corinna*, a woman; and *Pindar*, who belongs also to the next age.

Pindar was a Theban noble, and was accounted the greatest Greek lyric poet. Professor Jebb says of him (*Primer*, 68): "The glory of his song has passed forever from the world, with the sound of the rolling harmonies on which it once was borne, with the splendor of rushing chariots and athletic forms around which it threw its radiance,[1] with the white-pillared cities of the Aegean in which it wrought its spell, with the beliefs and joys which it ennobled; but those who love his poetry, and who strive to enter into its high places, can still know that they breathe a pure and bracing air, and can still feel vibrating through a clear, calm sky the strong pulse of an eagle's wings, as he soars with steady eyes against the sun."

b. Other Poets. — *Hesiod* (eighth century), from Boeotia: poetic history of creation and of the gods (*Theogony*), and didactic poems on

[1] Pindar delighted to celebrate the victors in the Olympic contests.

agriculture in the different seasons (*Works and Days*); *Thespis*, of Megara, who under patronage of Peisistratus at Athens begins dramatic poetry (which was to be the characteristic form of literature in the next century and was to remain centered at Athens).

Exercises. — From the names in the table above, what part of Hellas seems foremost in culture? (Note that Alcman and Tyrtaeus, whatever their origin, are the first and last poets of Sparta.) Look up the legend regarding Tyrtaeus in both ancient and modern authorities, and observe the later views regarding it (as in *Mahaffy*). Give brief accounts of Sappho and Alcaeus.

142. Philosophy. — It was in the sixth century, too, that Greek philosophy was born. Its home was in Ionia. There first the Greek mind set out fearlessly and systematically to explain the origin of things. *Thales* of Miletus, "father of Greek philosophy," taught that all things came from Water, or moisture. His pupil *Anaximines* substituted Air for Water as the universal first principle. *Pythagoras*, born at Samos, but teaching in Magna Graecia, sought the fundamental principle, not in a kind of matter, but in Number, or harmony. *Xenophanes* of Ionia, but also living in Italy, affirmed that the only real existence was that of *God, one and changeless* — "neither in body like unto mortals, neither in mind"; the changing world, he said, did not exist; it was only a deception of men's senses. To *Heracleitus* of Ephesus, on the other hand, ceaseless *change* itself was the very principle of things; the world had evolved from a fiery ether, and was in constant flux. Heracleitus lived on well into the fifth century, and was the last of the great Ionian philosophers.

This early speculative philosophy was closely related to early science. Thales was the first Greek to predict eclipses. *Anaximander* of Miletus (whose philosophical doctrines are too abstruse to deal with here) made maps and globes. The Pythagoreans naturally paid special attention to Geometry, and to Pythagoras is ascribed the famous demonstration regarding the square on the hypothenuse of a triangle. His followers had many mystical ideas, but they were the first to regard

Philosophy as a guide to human life. The harmony in the material universe must be matched, they held, by a harmony in the soul of man.

143. Religion and Morality. — The two religions, of the clan and of Olympus, have been briefly described. Neither had much to do with conduct toward men until the later moral sense of the people put morality into them and explained away, as allegorical, the old immoral stories of the gods.

Such a divorce of religion and morality is common among early peoples. The Greek moral ideas are to be sought in their philosophy, literature, and history, rather than in their theology. Their good sense and clear intellect had freed their religion from the grossest features of Oriental worship, but it kept traces of its savage origin in the habits of bedaubing and torturing initiates, in the drunkenness and indecency of the Bacchic festivals, and in various features of the "Mysteries," though these things were now overlaid by more refined ideas.

The early Greeks believed in a place of terrible punishment for a few great offenders *against the gods* (*Odyssey*, xi. 577 ff.), and in an Elysium of supreme pleasure for a very few others particularly favored by the gods. For the mass of men, however, the future life was to be "a washed-out copy of the brilliant life on earth" — its pleasures and pains both shadowy. Thus Ulysses meets Achilles in the home of the dead: —

"And he knew me straightway when he had drunk the dark blood; yea, and he wept aloud, and shed big tears as he stretched forth his hands in his longing to reach me. But it might not be, for he had now no steadfast strength nor power at all in moving, such as was aforetime in his supple limbs. . . . But lo, other spirits of the dead that be departed stood sorrowing, and each one asked of those that were dear to them." — *Odyssey*, xi. 390 ff.

And in their discourse, Achilles exclaims sorrowfully: —

"Nay, speak not comfortably to me of death, O great Ulysses. Rather would I live on ground as the hireling of another, even with a lack-land man who had no great livelihood, than bear sway among all the dead."

Later philosophers, like Socrates, rose to higher conceptions; but for most Greeks, even in the best periods, the future life remained unreal and unimportant. The remarkable quotations given below (§§ 149, 150) represent the mountain peaks, not the general level, of Greek thought on this subject.[1]

The Greeks accepted frankly the search for pleasure as natural and proper. Self-sacrifice had little place in their ideal; and Christianity, in its aspect as a worship of divine sorrow, is altogether foreign to their ideas. They were moved, not by the Christian spiritual passion for the beauty of holiness, but by an intellectual perception of the beauty of moderation and temperance.

Individual characters at once lofty and lovable were not numerous. No society ever produced so many great men, but many societies have produced better men. Greek excellence was intellectual rather than moral. Trickery and wily deceit mark most of the greatest names, and not even physical or moral bravery can be called a national characteristic.

At the same time, a few individuals do tower to great heights, though those heights were very different from the nobler ideals of modern society; and a few Greek teachers give us some of the noblest morality of the world. Says Mahaffy (*Social Greece*, 8), after acknowledging the cruelty and barbarity of Greek life: —

"Socrates and Plato are far superior to the Jewish moralists; they are superior to the average Christian moralist; it is only in the matchless teaching of Christ himself that we find them surpassed."

References for Further Reading upon Literature and Philosophy. — Jebb's *Primer of Greek Literature;* Mahaffy's *History of Greek Literature;* Marshall's *Short History of Greek Philosophy;* and the treatment in the standard histories — Grote, Curtius, Abbott, Holm.

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[1] It has been supposed sometimes that the *Orphic mysteries* over Greece and the *Eleusinian mysteries* at Athens taught the initiates a higher faith in immortality; but no sufficient evidence of this appears anywhere. On the "Mysteries," advanced students may consult Grant, *Age of Pericles*, ch. ii., and Lenormant in the *Contemporary Review* for 1880, May, July, and September.

IX. ILLUSTRATIVE EXTRACTS. (Mostly from the fifth century.)

144. Odyssey, xiv. 83–84. — "Verily, the blessed gods love not froward deeds, but they reverence justice and the righteous acts of men."

145. From Theognis. — "I will teach you, Cyrnus, a lesson which as a child I learned from the good: 'Never, for the honor, or excellence, or wealth, that may come of it, do aught that is base, or shameful, or unjust.'"

"Never taunt a poor man with his poverty: God gives wealth as he will; a man may be very rich and very base, but virtue is the portion of the few."

"We live like children, and the Almighty plan controls the froward children of weak men."

146. From Menander (a later period). — "He is the best man who knows how to control himself when injured, for this hot temper and bitterness is evidence of a little mind."

"Prefer to be injured rather than to injure."

147. From Aeschylus (§ 205).

"The lips of Zeus know not to speak a lying speech,
But will perform each single word."

"I think not any of the gods is bad."

"Justice shines in smoke-grimed houses and holds in regard the life that is righteous; she leaves with averted eyes the gold-bespangled palace which is unclean, and goes to the abode that is holy."

148. From Sophocles (§ 205).

"Nor did I deem thy edicts strong enough
That thou, a mortal man, should'st overpass
The unwritten laws of God that know no change."

149. Socrates (§ 207), to his Judges after his condemnation to death. (Plato's *Apology*.)

"Wherefore, O judges, be of good cheer about death, and know this of a truth — that no evil can happen to a good man, either in life or after death. He and his are not neglected by the gods. . . . The hour of departure has arrived, and we go our ways — I to die, you to live. Which is better, God only knows."

150. From Plato's Republic (§ 207). — "My counsel is that we hold fast ever to the heavenly way and follow justice and virtue, considering that the soul is immortal and able to endure every sort of good and every sort of evil. Thus we shall live dear to one another and to the gods, both while remaining here, and when, like conquerors in the games, we go to receive our reward."

151. A Prayer of Socrates (from Plato's *Phaedrus*). — "Beloved Pan, and all ye other gods who haunt this place, give me beauty in the inward soul; and may the outward and inward man be at one. May I reckon the wise to be the wealthy, and may I have such a quantity of gold as none but the temperate can carry."

CHAPTER IV.

THE PERSIAN ATTACK.

I. A NEW ERA.

152. Expanding Greece thrown back upon Itself. — In the sixth century this bustling, aggressive Greek world had seemed on the point of conquering the East merely by diffusing its influence through all lands. The expansion of Greek colonies has been noted; but the movement was wider than mere colonization. Greek cities were formed within the ancient monarchy of Egypt; Greek mercenaries upheld the throne of the Pharaohs, and at the same time made the strength of the armies of Babylon and Lydia; even the commerce of the East was passing from Phoenician to Greek hands.

Fortunately this process was arrested before the Greek genius was too much weakened and diluted. Now came an event which severed the Greek world from Asia and threw it back upon Europe, to develop more fully its distinctive European traits before it again entered Asia. Persia within half a century had absorbed four great empires, — Media, Babylon, Egypt, and Lydia (§ 69). Next it attacked the little, straggling, disunited Greek states.

153. The Subdivisions of the Epoch. — The contest fills two hundred years and falls into three periods. In the first (500–479 B.C., the period of this chapter), the European Hellenes are on the defensive. In the second and longest period (479–338 B.C.), the struggle is fitful, and concerns the freedom of the Asiatic Greeks. In the third period (338–323 B.C.), Hellas — her civilization now perfected — conquers and Hellenizes

Asia. In all this time the relations with Persia dominate Greek politics.

To a still broader view, these two centuries of conflict appear only as an opening episode in a struggle between East and West that has gone on ever since — with the Mohammedan attack, the crusades, the Tartar invasion, and the "eternal Eastern Question" of our own time, for later phases.

II. CONDITIONS FOR RESISTANCE TO PERSIA.

154. Three Sections of Hellas were prominent in power and culture: the European peninsula (which we may call Greece), Asiatic Hellas with the coast islands, and Magna Graecia. Elsewhere the cities were too scattered, or too small, or too busy with their own defense against surrounding savages, to be of great significance for the approaching contest. Asiatic Greece was already subject to Persia. The two other sections were now to be attacked simultaneously by Persia and Carthage respectively.

155. Magna Graecia and Carthage. — Carthage, on the north coast of Africa, was a colony of Phoenicia. It had built up a great empire of an Oriental nature, and was now about to try to seize Sicily. That island, bringing Africa and Europe within reach of each other, was an important point from which to control Mediterranean trade. The Greek cities in Sicily and Italy were ruled by tyrants; and these, uniting under *Gelon* of Syracuse, were to meet the Carthaginian onset successfully with their armies of disciplined mercenaries. That story need not be told in detail.

156. Greece: Wars, Class Strife, the Peloponnesian League. — In Greece, small as the forces seemed that could be mustered against the master of the world, they were further wasted and divided in internal struggles. Athens was at war with Aegina and with Thebes; Sparta had renewed the ancient strife with Argos, and had crippled her for a generation by slaying in one

battle almost the whole body of adult Argives;[1] and Phocis was engaged in a wasting struggle with Thessalians on one side and with Boeotians on the other.

Worse than all this, domestic strife tore individual cities. The disappearance of the tyrants had been followed everywhere by fresh feuds between classes. The oligarchs were often of Dorian descent, while the democracies commonly were of the conquered Ionic blood. Dorian Sparta had interfered many times in the "age of tyrants" to drive out those oppressors of the oligarchs, and now she continued to support the oligarchs against the democracies.

Sparta was in a sense the head of Greece. She lacked the enterprise and daring that were to make Athens the city of the coming century; but her government was firm, her army was large and disciplined, and so far she had shown more genius than any other Greek state, in organizing her neighbors into a military league. Two fifths of the Peloponnesus she ruled directly, and all the other cities of the peninsula, except Argos, including Corinth and Megara on the Isthmus, formed a war-confederacy of which Sparta was the center. The union was very slight, it is true. On special occasions, at the call of Sparta, the states sent deputies to a conference to discuss peace or war; but there was no constitution, no common treasury, not even a *general* treaty. Each state was bound to Sparta by its *separate* treaty, and in case of war it was expected to maintain a certain number of troops for the confederate army; but the union was so loose that the separate cities might, and did, make war upon each other inside the league. Still, this *Peloponnesian League* was unquestionably the greatest war power in Hellas, and it afforded the one rallying-point for disunited Greece in the coming struggle with the Barbarian.

[1] The old men and boys, however, sufficed to defend Argos itself against any possible Spartan attack. This touches an important fact in Greek warfare: a walled city could hardly be taken by assault; it could fall only through extreme carelessness, or by treachery or starvation; and the last danger did not often exist, because the citizen armies of the besiegers could not keep the field long themselves.

III. THE IONIC REVOLT.

157. The Condition of the Asiatic Greeks. — Croesus (§ 68) became king of Lydia in the same year in which Peisistratus became tyrant of Athens. He soon added to his kingdom all the Greek cities of Asia Minor. To this time, the Asiatic Hellenes had excelled all other branches of the race in culture. The names in §§ 140–141 show their preëminence in letters and science. Luxury and refinement were developed among them, and to these qualities their failure to maintain their independence is sometimes ascribed; but it seems unlikely that European Greeks themselves could have preserved their liberty, had they dwelt in so close vicinity to the great Asiatic empires.

Croesus had favored his Greek subjects, and they aided him cordially against Persia (§ 69). When he was overthrown, the Greek cities continued their resistance. They applied in vain to Sparta for aid.[1] Then *Thales*, the philosopher, at a council of the Ionian Greeks, urged a federation. The Greeks could not rise to so wise a plan. Some of the people emigrated to found free colonies;[2] but the cities fell one by one to Cyrus, and under Persian despotism their old superiority over other Greeks soon vanished.

158. The Revolt; Athenian Aid. — Before the conquest by Persia, the Ionian cities had begun to get rid of tyrants; but the Persians set them up everywhere again, as the easiest means of control. In the year 500 B.C., however, by a general rising, the Ionians deposed their tyrants and broke into revolt against Persia. Another appeal to Sparta proved fruitless; but Athens sent them twenty ships, and little Eretria sent five. The allies took Sardis, the old capital of Lydia, and were then joined by the other Asiatic Greeks. But treachery and mutual suspicion were rampant; Persian gold was used skillfully; and

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[1] Read the story in Herodotus, i. 152, 153.

[2] Special report: the story of Phocaea.

one defeat broke up the league, after which the cities were again subdued, one by one, in the four years following.

IV. THE FIRST TWO ATTACKS UPON GREECE, 492–490 B.C.

159. Relation to the Ionian Revolt. — According to legend, the Persian attack upon European Greece was caused directly by the desire to punish Athens for sending aid to the Ionian rebels. No doubt Athens was pointed out by this act for special vengeance; but the Persian invasion would have come in any case, and would have come some years sooner had the war in Ionia not occupied the Persians. Their steadily expanding frontier had reached Thessaly just before 500 B.C., and the same motives that had carried their arms through Thrace and Macedonia would have carried them on into Greece (§ 69). The real significance of the Ionian war was that it helped to delay the main Persian onset until the Greeks were better prepared.

160. The Call for Earth and Water. — Now that the Ionian disturbance was over, the Persian advance began again. Heralds appeared in the cities of Greece to demand "earth and water," in token of submission to the Great King. The island states yielded at once; in continental Greece in general the demand was quietly refused; but at Athens and Sparta, despite the sacred character of all ambassadors, the messengers were thrown at the one city into a pit, and at the other into a well, to "take thence what they wanted."

161. Marathon. — The first great attack came by way of Thrace, and was rendered harmless by a storm: the Persian fleet accompanying the army was shattered on the rocks of Mount Athos. Two years later, Darius sent a second expedition directly across the Aegean. Eretria was captured, through treachery, and her citizens sent in chains to Persia. Then the armament landed at the plain of Marathon in Attica, to punish the greater city that had dared to send troops to Asia. From the

rising ground where the hills of Pentelicus meet the plain, the ten thousand Athenian hoplites faced the Persian host for the first struggle between Greeks and Asiatics on European ground. A swift runner had run the hundred and fifty miles of rugged hill country to implore the promised aid from Sparta, reaching that city on the second day ; but the Spartans waited a week, on the ground that an old law forbade them to set out on a military expedition before the full moon.[1] The Boeotian city of *Plataea*, however, remembering how Athens had protected it against Thebes, joined the little Greek army with its full strength of a thousand hoplites. Without other help, the Athenians won a marvelous victory over ten times their number of the most famous soldiery in the world. The result was due to the generalship of Miltiades, the Athenian commander, and to the superior equipment of the Greek hoplites. The charge of their dense array, with long, outstretched spears, by its sheer weight broke the light-armed Persian lines, utterly unprepared for conflict on such terms. The darts and light scimeters of the Persians made little impression upon the heavy bronze armor of the Greeks, while linen tunics and wicker shields counted for little against the thrust of the Greek spear. One hundred and sixty-two Athenians fell. The Persians left over sixty-four hundred dead upon the field.[2]

162. Moral Importance of Marathon. — Natural as the result came to seem in later times, it took high courage at that day to stand before the hitherto unconquered Persians, even without such adverse odds. "The Athenians," says Herodotus, "were the first of the Greeks to face the Median *garments*, . . . whereas up to this time the very name of Mede had been a terror to the Hellenes." Athens broke the spell, and grew

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[1] For the sincerity of the Spartan excuse, see Grote, IV. 463–464, and Holm, II. 26, note 9. Read Browning's poem, *Pheidippides*.

[2] Special reports: plan and story of the battle; discussion as to the Persian numbers.

herself to heroic stature in an hour. The memory of Marathon became the richest inheritance of the Athenians, and inspired them to daring enterprise. The sons of the men who conquered on that field could find no odds too crushing, no prize too dazzling, in the years to come. It was now that the Athenian character first showed itself as Thucydides (i. 70) described it a century later: "The Athenians are the only people who succeed to the full extent of their hope, because they throw themselves without reserve into whatever they resolve to do."

V. ATHENS — FROM MARATHON TO THERMOPYLAE.

163. An Interval of Preparation: Themistocles. — Marathon, together with an Egyptian revolt against Persia, gained the Greeks ten years more of respite; but except in Athens little use was made of the interval. In that city the guiding spirit had come to be Themistocles, one of the most energetic and statesman-like leaders in all history. Under his guidance the Athenian democracy grew in unity and power. Two especially important measures are noted in the following sections.

164. Athens crushed Internal Faction by weakening and terrorizing the oligarchs. This involved the ruin of Miltiades, the hero of Marathon. He was an Athenian noble who had formerly made himself tyrant of Chersonese. Not long before the Persian invasion he had incurred the hatred of the Great King and had fled to Athens, where he became at once a prominent supporter of the oligarchic party. The democrats tried to prosecute him for his previous "tyranny," but the attempt failed, and his genius was available at Marathon. Soon after, he failed in a military expedition against Paros, and this time the democrats secured his condemnation.[1] He died shortly after in prison; and the blow was followed by

[1] Special reports: a fuller story of Miltiades: the question of Athenian ingratitude (Abbot, I. 93–97; Grote, IV. 492–512; Cox, *Greeks and Persians*, 135–139; Holm, II. 23–24; Curtius, II. 225–228).

the ostracism of some oligarchic leader each season for several years, until that party was utterly broken and Athens was freed from danger of internal dissension.

165. Athens a Naval Power. — The victorious democrats divided into new parties on questions of policy. *Aristeides*, "the Just," led the more moderate wing, content with the Cleisthenian constitution and inclined to follow old customs. *Themistocles* headed the more radical faction, and was bent upon a great departure from all past custom. The two appealed to the ostracism, and fortunately Aristeides was banished.

Some new and rich veins of silver had just been discovered in the mines of Attica, and it had been proposed to divide the large revenue among the citizens. Themistocles now persuaded his countrymen to reject this tempting plan; and instead to build a great fleet. He saw that the real struggle with Persia was yet to come, and that for a country like Hellas, the final issue must be decided by the command of the sea, — where, too, the Greeks could not be so infinitely outnumbered. The policy, wise though it was, broke with all tradition. No European Greeks up to this time had used ships in war in any considerable measure; and Attica was utterly insignificant upon the sea. But, thanks to Themistocles, in the next three years Athens became the greatest naval power in Hellas; and the decisive victory of Salamis (§ 171) was to be the result.

VI. THE MAIN ATTACK, 480–479 B.C.

166. Persian Preparation. — Meantime, happily for the world, Darius had died, and the invasion of Greece fell to his vain and feeble son, Xerxes. Marathon had proved that no Persian fleet could transport troops sufficient for the enterprise, so the route through Thessaly was tried again. Another such accident as had wrecked the first expedition was guarded against by the construction of a ship-canal through the isthmus of Mount Athos — a great engineering work that took

three years. Meantime, supplies were collected at stations along the way; the Hellespont was bridged; and finally, in the spring of 480 B.C., Xerxes in person led a mighty host of many nations into Europe. Ancient reports put the Asiatics at from one and a half to two millions of soldiers, with followers and attendants to raise the total to five millions. Modern critics think Xerxes may have had some half-million effective troops, with numerous followers. A fleet of twelve hundred ships accompanied the army.

167. The Greek Preparation. — The danger forced the Greeks into something like common action: into a greater unity, indeed, than they had ever known so far, unless in the legendary war against Asiatic Troy. Sparta and Athens joined in calling an Hellenic congress at the Isthmus, in the spring of 480 B.C. The deputies that appeared bound their cities by oath to mutual aid, and pledged their common efforts to punish any states that should "Medize," or join Persia. Plans of campaign were discussed, and Sparta was recognized formally as leader. Ancient feuds were pacified, and messengers were sent to implore aid from outlying portions of Hellas, though with little result. Crete excused herself on a superstitious scruple; Corcyra promised a fleet, but took care it should not arrive; and Gelon of Syracuse had his hands full at home with the Carthaginian invasion. Indeed, the double attack by Asia and Africa upon the two sections of the Greek race was probably concerted to prevent any joining of Hellenic forces.

The outlook was full of gloom. Argos, out of hatred of Sparta, and Thebes, from jealousy of Athens, refused to attend the congress, and were ready to join Xerxes. Even the Delphic oracle predicted ruin, advised submission, and warned the Athenians to flee to the ends of the earth.

168. The Lines of Defense: Plan of Campaign. — Against a land attack the Greeks had three lines of defense. The first was at the Vale of Tempe near Mount Olympus, where only a narrow pass opened into Thessaly. The second was at Ther-

mopylae, where the mountains shut off northern from central Greece, except for a still narrower road. The third was behind the Isthmus of Corinth.

At the congress, the Peloponnesians had wished selfishly to abandon the first two lines. They urged that all patriotic Greeks should retire at once within the Peloponnesus, the final citadel of Greece, and fortify the Isthmus by an impregnable wall. This plan was as foolish as it was selfish. Greek troops might have held the Isthmus against a land army; but the Peloponnesus was readily open to attack by sea, and the Persian fleet would have found it easier here than at either of the other lines of defense to land troops in the Greek rear without losing touch with its own army. Such a surrender of two thirds of Greece, too, would have meant a tremendous reënforcement of the enemy by excellent Greek soldiery.

169. The Loss of Thessaly. — Sparta had no gift for going to meet an enemy, but must await its attack on its own terms. From fifty thousand to one hundred thousand men should have held the Vale of Tempe. The feeble and insufficient garrison sent there retreated wisely before the Persians appeared. Xerxes entered Greece without a blow, and the Thessalian cities, so deserted by their allies, joined the invaders with their powerful cavalry.

170. Thermopylae. — This made it evident, even to Spartan statesmen, that to abandon central Greece would strengthen Xerxes further, and it was decided in a half-hearted way to make a stand at Thermopylae. The pass was only some twenty feet wide between the cliff and the sea, and the only other path was one over the mountain, equally easy to defend. The long island of Euboea approached the mainland just opposite the pass, so that the Greek fleet in the narrow water passage could guard the land army against having troops landed in the rear. The Athenians furnished and manned one hundred and twenty-seven ships of the fleet (out of a total of two hundred and seventy). The land defense had been

left to the Peloponnesian league and the other non-maritime states. A shamefully small force was sent for this important duty. The Spartan king *Leonidas* lay in the pass with three hundred Spartans and three thousand other Peloponnesian hoplites, besides light-armed Helots and a few thousand allies from central Greece. The main force of Spartans was again left at home, on the ground of a religious festival. Battle was joined on land and sea, and raged for three days. Four hundred Persian ships were wrecked in a storm, and the rest were checked by the Greek fleet in a sternly contested conflict at *Artemisium*. On land, Xerxes flung column after column of chosen troops into the pass, to be beaten back each time in rout. But on the second night *Ephialtes*, "The Judas of Greece," guided a force of Persians over the mountain path, which, with criminal carelessness, had been left insufficiently guarded. Leonidas' position could no longer be held. The allies withdrew, but the three hundred Spartans remained with their king to die in the pass their country had sent them to protect. Sparta had shown no capacity to command in this great crisis, but her citizens could set Greece an example of calm heroism that has stirred the world ever since. In later times the burial place of the three hundred was marked by this inscription: "Stranger, tell at Sparta that we lie here in obedience to her laws."[1]

171. The Strategy of Themistocles. — At the moment, Thermopylae was disastrous. Xerxes advanced on Athens and was joined by nearly all the states of central Greece, while the Theban oligarchs welcomed him with genuine joy. The Peloponnesians would risk no further battle outside their own peninsula, and the Athenians took refuge on their fleet. Delphi had finally prophesied safety for them within "wooden walls." Some thought the palisade of the Acropolis was meant, but

[1] Special reports: the story of the one Spartan who escaped; the Thebans and Thespians who remained with the Spartans — their motives, and the strange neglect shown them in Greek history.

Themistocles, who perhaps had secured the prophecy, persuaded his fellow-citizens to put their trust in the wooden walls of their ships. The Spartan admiral, by persistent entreaty, had been brought to delay the retreat of the fleet long enough to help remove the women and children from Athens. But Themistocles was determined also that the decisive battle

G. The Great fleet at Salamis. *PPP.* The Persian fleet.
X. The Throne of Xerxes.

should be fought at this spot. The narrow strait between the shore and Salamis helped to compensate for the smaller numbers of the Greeks; and it was evident to his insight that if the fleet withdrew to Corinth, as the Corinthians insisted it should do, all chance of united action would be lost: some contingents would sail home to defend their own cities against

Persian demonstrations; and others, like those of Megara and Aegina, their cities deserted, might join the Persians. The Athenians furnished two hundred of the three hundred and seventy-eight ships now in the fleet; and though with wise and generous patriotism they had yielded the chief command to Sparta, with her ten ships, still of course Themistocles carried weight in the council of captains. It was he who, by persuasion, entreaties, and bribes had kept the despairing allies from abandoning the land forces at Thermopylae. A similar but

Bay of Salamis.

greater task now fell to him. Debate waxed fierce in the night council. Arguments were exhausted, and Themistocles had recourse to threats and stratagems. The Corinthian admiral sneered that they need not regard a man who no longer represented a Greek city; the Athenian retorted that he represented two hundred ships and could make a city where he chose; and by a threat to sail away to found a new Athens in Italy he forced the allies to remain. Even then the decision would have been reconsidered had not the wily Athenian induced

Xerxes, by a secret message, pretending treachery, to block up the strait. The news of this Persian move was brought to the Greek chiefs by Aristeides, whose ostracism had been revoked and who now slipped through the hostile fleet in his single ship to join his countrymen.

172. The Battle of Salamis. — The Persian fleet more than doubled the Greek, and was itself largely made up of Asiatic Greeks, while the Phoenicians who composed the remainder were redoubtable sailors. The conflict lasted the next day from dawn to night, but the Greek victory was overwhelming.

> "A king sat on the rocky brow[1]
> Which looks o'er sea-born Salamis;
> And ships by thousands lay below,
> And men in nations, — all were his.
> He counted them at break of day,
> And when the sun set, where were they?"

Aeschylus, who fought on board an Athenian ship, gives a noble picture of the battle in his drama, *The Persians*. The speaker is a Persian recounting the event to the Persian queen mother: —

> "Not in flight
> The Hellenes then their solemn pæans sang,
> But with brave spirits hastening on to battle.
> With martial sound the trumpet fired those ranks:
> And straight with sweep of oars that flew thro' foam,
> They smote the loud waves at the boatswain's call;
> And swiftly all were manifest to sight.
> Then first their right wing moved in order meet;
> Next the whole line its forward course began;
> And all at once we heard a mighty shout —
> '*O sons of Hellenes, forward, free your country;*
> *Free, too, your wives, your children, and the shrines*
> *Built to your fathers' Gods, and holy tombs*
> *Your ancestors now rest in. The fight*
> *Is for our all.*' . . .

[1] A golden throne had been set up for Xerxes, that he might better view the battle.

. . . And the hulls of ships
Floated capsized, nor could the sea be seen,
Filled as it was with wrecks and carcasses ;
And all the shores and rocks were full of corpses,
And every ship was wildly rowed in flight,
All that composed the Persian armament.
And they, as men spear tunnies, or a haul
Of other fishes, with the shafts of oars,
Or spars of wrecks, went smiting, cleaving down ;
And bitter groans and wailings overspread
The wide sea waves, till eye of swarthy night
Bade it all cease : — and for the mass of ills,
Not, tho' my tale should run for ten full days,
Could I in full recount them. Be assured
That never yet so great a multitude
Died in a single day as died in this."

173. Illustrative Incidents. — Two incidents in the celebration of the victory throw light upon Greek character.

a. The commanders of the various city contingents in the Greek fleet voted a prize of merit to the city that deserved best in the action. The Athenians had furnished more than half the whole fleet ; they were the first to engage, and they had specially distinguished themselves ; they had seen their city laid in ashes, too, and only their steady patriotism had made a victory possible. Peloponnesian jealousy passed them by, however, for their rivals of Aegina, who had joined the Spartan league.

b. Another vote was taken to award prizes to the two most meritorious commanders. Each captain voted for himself for the first place, and all voted for Themistocles for the second.[1]

174. The Temptation of Athens. — On the day of Salamis the Sicilian Greeks won their decisive victory over the Carthaginians at *Himera*. That battle closed the struggle for a while in the west. In Greece the Persian chances were still good. Xerxes returned at once to Asia with his shattered fleet, but his general Mardonius remained in Thessaly with three hundred thousand chosen troops to renew the struggle in the spring.

The Athenians began courageously to rebuild their city,

[1] Herodotus, viii. 93; Plutarch's *Themistocles*.

which Xerxes had laid in ashes. In the early spring, Mardonius sent them an offer of favorable alliance, with the restoration of their city at Persian expense — a compliment which showed that he at least knew where lay the soul of the Greek resistance. The terrified Spartans sent in haste to beg the Athenians, with many promises, not to desert the cause of Hellas. There was no need of such anxiety. The Athenians sent back the Persian messenger: "Tell Mardonius that so long as the sun holds on his way in heaven the Athenians will come to no terms with Xerxes." They courteously declined the Spartan offer of aid in rebuilding their city, but did urge them to take the field early enough so that Athens need not be again abandoned. Mardonius approached rapidly. The Spartans found another sacred festival before which it would not do to leave their homes, and the Athenians in bitter disappointment a second time took refuge at Salamis. With their city in his hands, Mardonius offered them again the same favorable terms of honorable alliance. Only one of the Athenian Council favored even submitting the matter to the people, and he was instantly stoned by the enraged populace while the women inflicted a like cruel fate upon his wife and children. We may regret that the nobility of the Athenian policy should have been sullied by such violence, but nothing can seriously obscure their heroic self-sacrifice, unparalleled in history. Mardonius burned Athens a second time, laid waste the farms over Attica, cut down the olive groves, and then retired to the level plains of Boeotia.

175. Plataea. 479 B.C. — Athenian envoys had been at Sparta for weeks entreating instant action, but had been put off with meaningless delays. The fact was, Sparta still clung to the stupid plan of defending only the Isthmus. Some of her keener allies, however, at last made the ephors see the uselessness of the wall at Corinth if the Athenians should be forced to join Persia with their fleet; then Sparta finally acted with energy, and gave a striking proof of her resources. One morn-

ing the Athenian envoys, who were about to announce their wrathful departure, were told, to their amazement, that fifty thousand Peloponnesian troops had been put in motion during the night. The Athenian forces and other reënforcements raised the total to about one hundred thousand. The final contest with Mardonius was fought near the little town of *Plataea*. Spartan generalship blundered sadly, and most of the allies were not brought into the fight; but the stubborn Spartan valor and the Athenian skill and dash won a victory [1] which became a massacre. It is said that of the two hundred and sixty thousand Persians engaged, only three thousand escaped. The Greeks lost in the battle itself only one hundred and fifty-four men.

176. The Meaning of the Greek Victory. — Plataea closed the first period of the Persian War. The Persians and Carthaginians were not barbarians in our sense of the word. In some respects they stood for at least as high a civilization as the Greeks then did. They possessed refinement and high moral ideals. Ancient Greece as a Persian province would have had an infinitely happier and more prosperous fate than modern Greece has had for many centuries as a Turkish province. But, none the less, a Persian victory would have meant the extinction of the world's best hope. The victory of the Greeks decided that the despotism of the East should not crush the freedom and individuality of the West in this first home until it had been transplanted into other European lands.

To the Greeks themselves their victory opened a new epoch. It was not only that they were cast back upon themselves for a more European development (§ 152); they were victors over the greatest of world empires. It was a victory of intellect and spirit over matter. Unlimited confidence gave them still greater power. New energies stirred in their veins and found expression in manifold forms. The matchless bloom of Greek

[1] Special report : Herodotus, ix. 12–89, and modern critics.

art and thought, in the next two generations, had its roots in the soil of Marathon and Plataea.

References. — Herodotus, vi.–ix. ; Plutarch, *Themistocles* and *Aristeides ;* Cox, *Greeks and Persians ;* Holm ; Grote ; Abbott ; Curtius. For the Carthaginian Attack : Freeman, *Story of Sicily*, chs. v., vi.

Exercise. — 1. Summarize the causes of the Persian wars. 2. Devise and memorize a series of *catch-words* and *phrases* for rapid statement, that shall bring out the outline of the story quickly. Thus : —

Persian demands for "earth and water" : compliance of the island-states ; reception at Sparta and Athens. *First expedition*, through Thrace : Mount Athos. *Second expedition*, across the Aegean, two years later : capture of Eretria ; landing at Marathon ; excuses of Sparta ; arrival of Plataeans ; Miltiades and battle of Marathon, 490.

Let the student continue the series through the war.

CHAPTER V.

THE AGE OF PERICLES — FROM THE PERSIAN THROUGH THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

I. GROWTH OF THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE.

177. Preparation at Athens: the Building of the Walls and the Peiraeus — Immediately after Plataea, the Athenians began once more to rebuild their temples and homes; but Themistocles persuaded them to leave even these in ashes until they should have surrounded the city with walls. Corinth, jealously eager to keep Athens helpless, urged Sparta to interfere; and, to her shame, that city did send a protest. Such walls, she said, might prove an advantage to the Persians if they should again occupy Athens The interference was the more cruelly unjust since the helpless condition of the Athenians was due to their heroic sacrifice for Hellas. A Peloponnesian army, however, could hardly have been resisted by ravaged Attica, and Themistocles had recourse to wiles. As Thucydides tells the story: —

"The Athenians, by the advice of Themistocles, replied that they would send an embassy to discuss the matter, and so got rid of the Spartan envoys. He then proposed that he should himself start at once for Sparta, and that they should give him colleagues who were not to go immediately, but were to wait until the wall had reached the lowest height which could possibly be defended. . . . On his arrival, he did not at once present himself officially to the magistrates, but delayed and made excuses, and when any of them asked him why he did not appear before the assembly, he said that he was waiting for his colleagues, who had been detained by some engagement. . . . The friendship of the magistrates for Themistocles induced them to believe him, but when everybody who came from Athens declared positively that the wall was building,

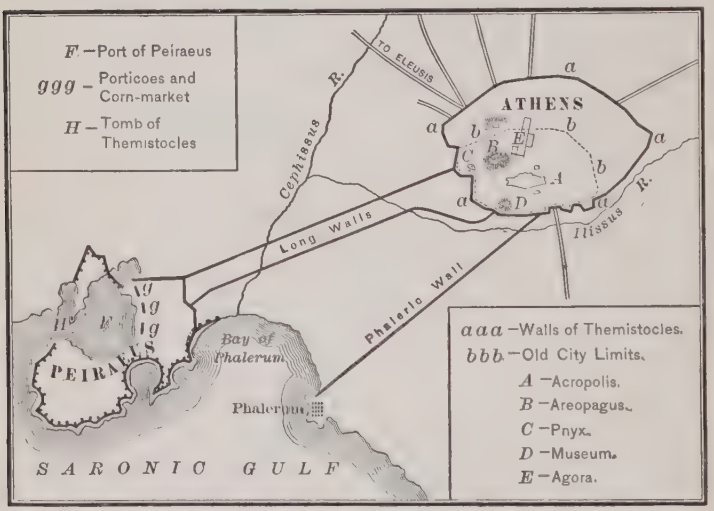
and had already reached a considerable height, they knew not what to think. He, aware of their suspicions, desired them not to be misled by reports, but to send to Athens men whom they could trust out of their own number, who would see for themselves and bring back word. They agreed; and he, at the same time, privately instructed the Athenians to detain the envoys as quietly as they could, and not let them go till he and his colleagues had got safely home. For by this time, those who were joined with him in the embassy had arrived, bringing the news that the wall was of sufficient height, and he was afraid that the Lacedaemonians, when they heard the truth, might not allow them to return. So the Athenians detained the envoys, and Themistocles, coming before the Lacedaemonians, at length declared, in so many words, that Athens was now provided with walls and would protect her citizens; henceforward, if the Lacedaemonians wished at any time to negotiate, they must deal with the Athenians as with men who knew quite well what was best for their own and the common good."

Neglecting all private concerns, the Athenians had toiled with feverish haste — men, women, children, and slaves. To later generations the story was told in part by the irregular nature of the walls. No material was held too precious. Inscribed tablets and fragments of sacred temples, and even monuments from the burial grounds, had been seized for the construction.

But Themistocles was not yet content. Athens lay several miles from the shore. In his archonship, some years before, with a view to future naval greatness, he had given the city the improved harbor of the Peiraeus, instead of an open roadstead formerly used; and this port was now fortified, more deliberately than the main city, with a massive wall of solid masonry clamped with iron, sixteen feet broad and thirty feet high, so that old men and boys might easily defend it against any enemy. Thus the Athenians were put in possession of two walled cities, each some seven miles in circuit, and only five miles apart. The metics who had thronged the port had fled at the Persian invasion, but this new security, together with special inducements now held out to strangers, brought back the merchant-class in crowds to contribute to the power and wealth of Athens. It was at this time, too, that Themis-

tocles carried a resolution to add each year twenty ships to the fleet.[1]

178. A Fleeting Vision of a United Hellas. — Before these events at Athens, while the Greek army was still encamped at Plataea after the victory, it had been agreed to hold there an annual congress of all Greek cities, and constantly to maintain eleven thousand troops and a hundred ships for war against



Persia. The proposal for this Pan-Hellenic confederation came from Athens. Of course it looked to Spartan leadership. It was a wise and generous attempt to render permanent the makeshift union that the Persian danger had forced upon the allies. But the episode of the walls proved the hollow nature of the union, and the plan never really went into effect. Instead, Greece fell into two rival leagues, and Athens became head of the more brilliant one.

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[1] The "Long Walls" shown on the map upon this page and on the earlier map of Attica (p. 147) were not built until somewhat later. Cf. § 186.

179. The New Prominence of Athens. — The repulse of Persia had counted more for the glory of Athens than of Sparta. Athens had made greater sacrifices than any other state. She had shown herself free from petty vanity, and had acted with a broad, Hellenic patriotism. Herodotus, in his history of the war (written after the fall of Athens, when it was unpopular to praise her), feels constrained to insist that the victory over Persia was due mainly to the skill, wisdom, and energy of the Athenians. They furnished the best ideas and ablest leaders; and even in the field, Athenian enterprise and vigor had accomplished at least as much as Spartan discipline and valor. Sparta had been indispensable as a rallying point: but she had shown miserable judgment; her leaders, too often, had proved incapable or corrupt;[1] and now that war was to be carried on at a distance, her lack of enterprise became even more conspicuous. Indeed, events in Asia Minor were already forcing Athens into the leadership to which she was entitled. The European Greeks had been unwilling to follow any but Spartan generals on sea or land; but on the Ionian coast Athens was the more popular city, and her superior activity and fitness at once won recognition.

180. Athens assumes Leadership of the Ionian Greeks (479 B.C.). — While the Persians on Greek soil still threatened conquest, the Greeks had taken the offensive. In the early spring of 479 B.C., a fleet had crossed the Aegean to assist Samos in a revolt. A Spartan king commanded the expedition, of course, but three fifths of the whole fleet were Athenian ships. On the very day of *Plataea*,[2] a double victory was won at *Mycale* on the coast of Asia Minor. The Greeks first destroyed a great Persian land army, and then, reëmbarking, they seized and burned the three hundred Persian ships. No Persian fleet was

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[1] Special reports: Pausanias at Byzantium, and King Leotychides in Thessaly.

[2] According to the ancient authorities. Modern authorities doubt this coincidence of dates.

to show itself again in the Aegean for nearly a hundred years, — until after the fall of Athens. In the land battle the Athenians were fortunate enough to have practically completed the work before the Spartans and the other Greeks were able to reach the field.

A general rising of the Ionian cities followed, but the Spartans shrank from the responsibility of admitting them into the Hellenic league and of defending so distant allies against Persia. They proposed instead to transport the Ionians to European Greece and to give them the cities of the Medizing Greeks there. The Ionians of course would not leave their homes, and the Athenians denied the right of Sparta so to decide the fate of "Athenian colonies." The Spartans seized the excuse to sail home, leaving the Athenians to manage as best they could by themselves. The latter gallantly undertook the task, and began the reduction of the scattered Persian garrisons in the Aegean.

The next year, thinking better of it, Sparta sent *Pausanias*, the general of Plataea, to take command; but he entered into treasonable correspondence with Xerxes, and by his unendurable insolence so offended the allies that, though his treason was only suspected as yet, they formally invited the Athenians to take the leadership. Another Spartan general arrived to replace Pausanias; but the allies chose to remain under Athenian command, and Sparta, with all the Peloponnesian league, withdrew finally from the war. Athens was thenceforth the recognized head in the struggle to preserve the freedom of the Asiatic Greeks. The league of Plataea was still nominally in existence, but the war was to be waged henceforth on Asiatic shores, and by Greeks who (excepting the Athenians) had had no share in Plataea.

181. The Confederacy of Delos, 478. — The first step was to organize a more definite confederacy. This work fell to Aristeides; and Athens was as fortunate in her representative as Sparta had been unfortunate in hers. The courtesy and tact

of the Athenian won universal favor, and his known integrity inspired a rare confidence in the settlement of the money contributions. The arrangements he proposed were ratified by all the allies, and created the *Confederacy of Delos.* A congress of the states to direct the affairs of the league was to be held annually at Delos — the seat of an ancient Ionic amphictyony. Each state had one vote. Each paid a yearly contribution to the treasury, and the larger cities furnished also ships and men. Athens was the president city. Her generals commanded the allied fleet, and her delegates presided at the congresses. In return, Athens seems to have borne far more than her share of the burdens.[1] The purpose of the league was to complete the process of freeing the Aegean and to prevent the return of the Persians. Any city in the vicinity of Asia that should have refused to join would have appeared desirous of reaping the benefit of the confederacy without contributing to its support. The allies seem to have planned a *perpetual* union. Lumps of iron were thrown into the sea, when the oath of federation was taken, as a symbol that it should be binding until the iron should float. The league remained to the last predominantly Ionian and maritime. It was therefore a natural rival of Sparta's Dorian continental league.

Exercise. — 1. In what respects was the Delian league, even at the beginning, an advance on the Peloponnesian league? 2. Contrast the services of Themistocles and Aristeides to Athens. Could Themistocles have organized the Delian league? (The second exercise may be framed as a question for debate.)

182. Work and Growth of the Delian League. — The confederacy grew rapidly until it took in nearly all the islands of the Aegean and the cities of the northern and eastern coasts. The Persians were expelled from the whole region. Then the great general of the league, *Cimon,* son of Miltiades, carried

[1] Apparently in war over half the total outlay, though possessing less than one sixth the total resources. Holm, II. 215

the war beyond the Aegean, and won his most famous victory, in 466 B.C., at the mouth of the Eurymedon in Pamphylia, where in one day he destroyed a Persian land host and captured a fleet of two hundred and fifty vessels. After this the Carian and Lycian coasts joined the confederacy. The cities at the mouth of the Black Sea, too, were added; and the trade of that region streamed through the Hellespont to the Peiraeus. Aristophanes speaks of a thousand cities in the league, but only two hundred and eighty are known by name.

183. Changes in the Character of the League. — After a few years the character of the union altered radically. The details are not known, but we can discover two general tendencies.

a. The change came largely by a natural growth — because the Athenians were willing to bear burdens and accept responsibilities, while their less energetic allies preferred peace and quiet. Many cities chose to increase their money payments in place of furnishing men and ships, so that before long the navy was solely Athenian. As a natural result, Athens no longer felt it needful to consult the allies as to the operations of the war; the congress ceased to meet; and finally the treasury was removed from Delos to Athens.

b. The second process was even more significant, changing not only the practice, but also the theory, of the union. Even before the first tendency became prominent, single states here and there began to refuse their quotas and to attempt secession. Persia, they thought, was no longer a danger, and the need for the league had passed away. But of course the Athenian fleet patrolling the Aegean was the only reason why the Persians did not reappear there, and Athens was certainly right in holding the allies to their engagements. Cities that rebelled were conquered by the very navy their contributions had built up; but, instead of being brought back into the union, they were reduced to the position of subjects of Athens. That is, they were no longer connected with the other cities

of the league except through their subjection to the conquering city, to which they were bound in each case by a separate treaty imposed by the conqueror. Athens took away their fleets, leveled their walls, sometimes remodeled their governments upon a democratic basis, and made them pay tribute.

184. The League becomes an Athenian Empire. — We know of only a few such rebellions; but it is clear that gradually Athens came to treat the bulk of the other cities of the old league much as she did these conquered cities. The confederacy of equal states became an empire, with Athens for its "tyrant city." [1]

By 450 B.C. Lesbos, Chios, and Samos were the only states of the league possessing anything like their original independence, and even these had no voice in the imperial management. Besides these, however, now or later, Athens had other independent allies that had never belonged to the Delian Confederacy — like Plataea, Corcyra, Naupactus, and Acarnania, in central Greece, Neapolis and Regium in Italy, and Segesta and other Ionian cities in Sicily.

On the whole, despite the strong Greek tendency to city sovereignty, the subject cities seem to have been attached to Athens. Revolts were infrequent, and enemies confessed that the bulk of the people looked gratefully to Athens for protection against oligarchic faction. Athens was the true mother of Ionian democracy. As the Athenian Isocrates said, "Athens was the champion of the masses, the enemy of dynasties, denying the right of the many to be at the mercy of the few." Everywhere throughout the empire, as thousands of inscriptions show, the ruling power became an Assembly and Council like those at Athens; but the arrangement was commonly

[1] See Abbott, II. 344–346, for an inscription showing the conditions imposed by Athens upon one community. Some details for other cities are given in the same volume, 371–373. Freeman, *Federal Government*, I. 23–29, gives a good comparison between the subject cities and the American States or British colonies.

brought about without violence. Later, during the Peloponnesian war (§ 211 ff.), the bulk of the cities remained faithful long after they might have revolted with impunity: and when rebellion did come it was usually preceded by internal oligarchic revolution. In the next century, too, after a period of Spartan tyranny, many of these same cities again sought protection and democracy in a new Athenian league (§ 229).

None the less, it was plain, by 460 B.C., that the attempt at a union of Greek states on the basis of representation and equality had failed. We can see now that the indifference of the Greeks to representation and to any citizenship outside their own city doomed such a plan from the first. The confederation was fated to fall to pieces or to be consolidated into a single imperial state. This last chance to make an Hellenic nation (imperialism) still remained; and Athenian success would no doubt have been happy for Greece and for the world. But three opposing forces proved too strong: the omnipresent tendency to city independence; the bitter hatred of the oligarchic factions in the cities most friendly to Athens and even in Athens itself; and the natural jealousy felt by cities outside the empire, like Corinth and Sparta. The conflict between the imperial Athenian democracy and these forces made the political history of Greece for the rest of the century; and the fall of Athens at its close involved, soon after, the fall of Hellas.

185. The Rift between Athens and Sparta. — In 465 B.C. Athens made war upon Thasos, a revolted member of the league. After a two years' siege, the Thasians applied to Sparta for aid. That city proposed secretly to invade Attica, although the two states were still in alliance under the league of 481 B.C. The treacherous project was prevented by a destructive earthquake at Sparta, which was followed at once by a desperate revolt of the Messenian Helots. Instead of attacking Athens, the hard-pressed Spartans called upon her for aid. *Ephialtes*, leader of the democratic party (§ 200), opposed such a step, but *Cimon* urged that Athens should not let her yokefellow be destroyed or Greece be lamed. The generous but shortsighted policy of the aristocratic party prevailed, and Cimon led an Athenian army into the Peloponnesus. A little later, however, the Spartans, suspecting the same bad faith of which

they knew themselves guilty, dismissed the Athenians insultingly. The anti-Spartan party in Athens was strengthened by this act. Cimon was ostracized, and his party was left utterly helpless for many years. Athens now formally renounced her alliance with Sparta, and entered into treaty with *Argos*, Sparta's sleepless enemy. *Megara*, too, joined the Athenian league, to secure protection against Corinth, and so gave Athens command of the passes from the Peloponnesus.

186. Marvelous Activity of Athens: Growth of a Land Empire. — A rush of startling events followed. Corinth and Aegina declared war upon Athens. Aegina was blockaded, and reduced after a long siege; Corinth was struck blow after blow, even in the Corinthian gulf; and Athenian fleets ravaged the coasts of Laconia and burned the Spartan dockyards. At the same time, while keeping up her fleet in the Aegean, Athens sent a great armament of two hundred ships (and more, later) to aid Egypt in a revolt against Persia.[1] The expedition was at first brilliantly successful, and Persia seemed on the point of being deprived of all contact with the Mediterranean. Elsewhere also for a time Athens was almost uniformly victorious. A Spartan army crossed the Corinthian gulf and appeared in Boeotia to check Athenian progress there. It won a partial victory at *Tanagra*, — the first real battle between the two great states, — but used it only to secure an undisturbed retreat into the Peloponnesus. The Athenians at once reappeared in the field, crushed the Thebans in a great battle at *Coronaea*, became masters of all Boeotia, and, expelling the oligarchs, set up democracies in the various towns. *Phocis* and *Locris* at the same time allied themselves to Athens, so that she seemed in a fair way to extend her land empire over all central Greece, to which she held the two gates, Thermopylae and the passes of the Isthmus. A little later, part of

[1] Such a fleet required forty thousand sailors (two hundred to a ship), and from two thousand to five thousand hoplites. The sailors, however, came largely from the non-citizen class, and some perhaps were even slaves.

Thessaly was brought under Athenian influence, and *Achaea* in the Peloponnesus itself was added to the league. Indeed it is impossible even to mention the multiplied instances of limitless energy and splendid daring on the part of Athens for the few years after 460 B.C., while her empire was at its height. For one instance: just when Athens' hands were fullest in Egypt and in the siege of Aegina, Corinth tried a diversion by invading Megaris. Athens did not recall a man, but, arming the youths and the old men past age of service, repelled the invaders. The Corinthians, stung by shame, made a second, more determined, attempt, and were again repulsed with great slaughter. It was at this time, too, that the city completed her fortifications by building the *Long Walls* from Athens to Peiraeus — a measure which added also a large open space to the city, where the country people might take refuge in case of invasion.

187. Loss of the Land Empire. — But the resources of Athens were severely strained, and a sudden series of stunning blows well-nigh exhausted her. Two hundred and fifty ships and the whole army in Egypt were lost — a disaster that would have annihilated almost any other Greek state. Megara, which had itself invited an Athenian garrison, now treacherously massacred it and joined the Peloponnesian league. A Spartan army entered Attica through the recovered passes; and, at the same moment, Euboea — absolutely essential to Athenian safety — burst into revolt. All Boeotia, too, except Plataea, fell away: after an Athenian defeat, the oligarchs won the upper hand in its various cities and joined themselves to Sparta.

188. The Thirty Years' Truce, and Peace with Persia. — The activity and address of Pericles (§ 200) saved Attica and Euboea, but the other continental possessions and alliances were for the most part lost, and in 445 B.C. a *Thirty Years' Truce* was concluded between the contending leagues.

A little before this, according to a somewhat vague account, by the *Peace of Callias*, Persia had recognized the freedom of

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the Asiatic Greeks and had promised to send no warship into the Aegean. In any case, these conditions were effectively secured, whether by express treaty or not, and the long war with Persia, too, came to a close.

II. THE EMPIRE AND THE IMPERIAL CITY IN PEACE.[1]

"*The Athens of the fifth century was a great state in a higher sense than most of the kingdoms of the Middle Ages. . . . For the space of a half century her power was quite on a par with that of Persia, . . . and the Athenian Empire is the true precursor of those of Macedonia and Rome.*" — HOLM, II. 259.

A. MATERIAL STRENGTH.

189. Relative Power. — Athens had failed to keep her continental dominion, and the second chance for a united Hellas had passed; but at the moment the loss of this territory did not seem to impair her strength. The maritime empire was saved and consolidated, and, for a generation more, the Greeks of that empire were the leaders of the world in power as in culture. They had proved themselves more than a match for Persia; the mere magic of the Athenian name sufficed to restrain Carthage from any renewal of her attack upon the now weakened Sicilian Greeks; the Athenian power in Thrace easily held in check the rising Macedonian kingdom; Rome was still a barbarous village on the Tiber bank. The center of physical power in the world was imperial Athens.

190. Population. — The cities of the empire counted some three millions of people.[2] The number seems small to moderns; but it must be kept in mind that the population of the world

[1] The *intellectual greatness* of Athens obscures the fact sometimes that she stood also for a *great material power* and for a *high political development*. A complete survey calls for all three topics. The latter two have been partly discussed, and may be best disposed of here before the first one is taken up.

[2] See Holm, II. 223–224, and Cunningham's *Western Civilization*, 109, for a discussion of authorities. The most cautious inquiry is Beloch's *Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-romanischen Welt* (1886).

was small, and that the Athenian Empire was made up — as no other empire ever has been — solely of select, cultured, wealthy, progressive communities. Of course, slaves made a large fraction of this population. Thus Attica itself contained from two hundred and thirty-five thousand to two hundred and seventy-five thousand people, of whom from forty thousand to one hundred thousand were slaves.[1] Thirty thousand or forty-five thousand more were metics. This left a citizen population of some one hundred and twenty thousand or one hundred and fifty thousand, of whom perhaps thirty-five thousand were adult males. To this number should be added half as many *cleruchs* whom Pericles had settled as garrison colonies in outlying parts of the empire. The cleruchs — like the Roman colonists later, and unlike other Greek colonists — kept their enrollment in the Attic demes with all the rights of citizenship, though of course they could not exercise the higher political rights unless they came to Athens in person. They were mostly from the poorer classes, and were given lands in the new settlements sufficient to raise them at least to the class of hoplites.

191. The Imperial Revenues were large for any ancient state, especially for one that did not drain its people poor. The ruling city drew an annual income of about four hundred talents ($400,000 in our values) from her Thracian mines and from the port dues and the taxes on metics. The tribute from the subject cities amounted to half as much again. This was justly assessed, and it bore lightly upon the prosperous Greek communities. For instance, the Asiatic Greeks paid only one sixth as much as they had previously paid Persia; and the tax was never any considerable fraction of what it would have cost the cities merely to defend themselves against pirates, had Athenian protection been removed.[2] Indeed the whole tribute would not keep

[1] Older estimates said four hundred thousand slaves — a number now absolutely discredited.

[2] A good discussion is in Holm, II. 214–216 and 223–226. See also Abbott, II. 521.

one hundred ships manned and equipped for a year, to say nothing of building them; and when we remember the standing navy in the Aegean and the great armaments that Athens sent repeatedly against Persia, it would seem that she bore at least her share of the imperial burden.

B. Government of the City and Empire.

192. Steps in Political Development. — The chief steps from the constitution of Cleisthenes to that of Pericles were: (*a*) the growth of the office of general; (*b*) the continued extension of the sphere of the Assembly, with the subordination of all other parts of the government to it; (*c*) the limitation of the Areopagus and the growth of the dicast courts; and (*d*) the introduction and wide extension of state pay for public service. There was no general recasting of the constitution at one moment, as there had been at the time of Solon and of Cleisthenes; and the change was much more in the spirit of the people than in the outer form of institutions. The first two steps mentioned above were altogether the result of a gradual development, independent of legislation. The others were brought about by piecemeal enactment. *Ephialtes*, and afterward *Pericles*, were the guiding spirits in the development.[1]

193. The Generals and the "Leaders of the People." — In 487 B.C. Solon's method of choosing archons by lot (§ 127 and note) had been restored. Partly as a result of this, the office grew unimportant, and its powers passed to the board of ten generals, who became the real administrators of the empire, subject to the sovereign Assembly. It was on their proposals, as a rule, that troops were levied and equipped, ships built and manned, and moneys raised. In particular, they managed foreign relations, carried on all intercourse with ambassadors, and watched the movements of other powers through their agents

[1] The extension of eligibility for office to Solon's "fourth class," which it has been customary to credit to Aristeides just after Plataea, is flatly denied by Aristotle's newly discovered *Constitution*.

abroad. They could call special meetings of the Assembly at will, and were conceded precedence in addressing it.[1]

With the development of the Assembly's power (§ 194) there grew up, alongside these official administrators, a semi-official position of "leader of the people." The written law knew no such office; but the statesman most trusted by the popular party could exercise an authority greater than that of any officer of the constitution. It became desirable, therefore, from every point of view, that the Board of Generals should contain the "leader of the people" for the time being, to advocate its plans in the Assembly; and such a union was kept up through all this period. A "leader of the people" who was also president of the Board of Generals, held a position in some ways similar to an English prime minister's.

194. The Assembly.[2] — Cleisthenes had left the Assembly theoretically sovereign, but in fact its various agents at first exercised independent authority. It was only after some time that the Assembly came to think it proper to supervise and check these other forces day by day; and it was only by practice that it learned how to do so effectively. But in the Age of Pericles this had come to pass. All other powers had become the obedient servants of the Assembly. The Council of Five Hundred existed not to guide it, but to do its bidding. The generals were its creatures and might be deposed by it any day of their short term of office. No act of government was too small or too great for it to deal with. The Assembly of Athens was to the greatest empire of the world in that day all, and more than all, that a New England town meeting a century ago was to its little unit of government. The world has never seen such a phenomenon elsewhere.

The Assembly held forty stated meetings a year and many special meetings, so that a patriotic citizen was called upon to give one day in six or seven to the state in this regard alone.

[1] On the Generals, read Holm II. 201, 202.

[2] Read Grant, 141-149. Advanced students may consult Gilbert, 285–310.

After the period of Athenian greatness was past, it was found needful to pay citizens for the time given to these meetings; but, while Athens ruled an empire, patriotism alone brought men to grant this serious tax upon their time.

195. The Waning of the Areopagus. — The decline of the archonship to an ornamental office involved a like fate for the Areopagus — made up, as it was, of ex-archons. As a body holding office for life, it was always unpopular. During the Persian War, it is true, it had won high credit, justly; and for some years afterward it was allowed to resume something of its ancient importance in the state, but, after the banishment of Cimon, Ephialtes reduced it to a minor criminal court.

196. The Dicasteries. — The chief judicial business fell now to large popular courts, whose importance became fully developed under Pericles. Six thousand citizens were chosen by lot each year (probably only from those who offered themselves), of whom one thousand were held in reserve, while the others were divided into ten jury courts of five hundred each, called dicasteries. For important cases, several of these were sometimes thrown together.

To these bodies the Assembly turned over the trial of officials, so that they became high courts of impeachment. It was with a view to this duty that each dicast took an oath "above all things to favor neither tyranny nor oligarchy, nor in any way to prejudice the sovereignty of the people." Besides performing this semi-political function, the dicasteries made: (*a*) supreme imperial courts to settle all disputes between separate cities of the empire; (*b*) courts of appeal for all important law cases in each of the subject cities; and (*c*) the ordinary courts for all Athenians. A dicastery was both judge and jury; it decided by majority vote, and no appeal was possible.

Large bodies of this kind, without the check that even our smaller juries have in trained judges to guide them, gave many wrong and evil verdicts, no doubt. Passion and emotion and bribery all interfered, at times, with even-handed justice; but,

on the whole, the system worked astonishingly well. Probably no other community has ever been educated up to a point where it could have made so great a success of such judicial machinery. In particular, it is notable that any citizen of a subject city was sure to get redress, if wronged by an Athenian officer. The public conscience was commendably sensitive upon that matter.

197. State Pay. — Since these courts exercised so great weight and tried political offenders, it was essential to the democratic idea that they should not fall altogether into the hands of the rich. To prevent this Pericles introduced payment for jury duty. The amount (three obols a day, or about ten cents) would furnish a day's sustenance for one person in Athens, but it did not suffice for a family.[1] Moreover, even at such pay, a dicast could hardly count upon employment on more than two hundred days in the year; and it is clear that jury pay could not have been a serious financial object with any large portion of the citizens, especially when it is remembered that Athens had no pauper class.

Afterward, Pericles extended the principle of public payment to other political services. Aristotle says that some twenty thousand men — over half the whole body of citizens — were constantly in the pay of the state. Half of this number, however, were engaged in some form of military service, and in some cases were not citizens. But, besides the six thousand jurymen, there were the five hundred senators, seven hundred city magistrates, seven hundred more officials representing Athens throughout the empire, and many inferior state ser-

[1] It was about one third the average day's wage for a workingman, or one fifth that of a skilled artisan. The older estimates of wages in Athens seem to have been erroneous. See a discussion in *Hellenic Studies*, 1895, pp. 229–247. The enemies of the system ridiculed paid juries, as hostile critics may ridicule them, indeed, with us, by pointing to the "professional jurymen" known in parts of our country, who for the sake of the fee hang about the courtroom to get places when the regular panel is exhausted. Such ridicule does not condemn the system.

vants — keepers of public buildings, overseers of markets and the ports, jailers, and the like; so that always from a third to a fourth of the citizens were in the civil service.

Pericles has been accused sometimes of corrupting the Athenians by the introduction of such payment. But there is no evidence that the Athenians were corrupted under the system; and further, such a system was inevitable when the democracy of a little city became the master of an empire. It was quite as natural and proper as is the payment of congressmen and judges with us.

In the United States, only one man in about a hundred ever holds even a nomination for office, though our citizens give more universal attention to politics than is the case in any other modern country. Athens demanded the services of all her citizens over half the time (counting the military service). Of course, such a system involved public pay for the whole population of the ruling city.

Sparta, it will be remembered, attained a less desirable end in a less desirable manner. She kept her whole citizen class on constant *military* footing by giving them the free use of state slaves to till their lands. In both Athens and Sparta the practice was totally different from the later custom, with which it is sometimes classed (§ 422), of distributing free corn as a gratuity or a bribe to the rabble of Rome.

198. Political Capacity of the Average Athenian. — Many of the numerous offices in Athens (nearly all the higher ones, in fact) could be held only once by the same man, so that each Athenian citizen could count upon serving his city at some time in almost every public capacity. Politics was his occupation; office-holding, his normal function. An unusually high average of intelligence is the only explanation of the fact that such a system worked. It certainly did work well. With all its faults, the empire was vastly superior to the rude despotism that followed in Greece under Sparta, or the anarchy under Thebes; it gave to a large part of the Hellenic world a peace and security never enjoyed before, nor again until the rise of Roman

power; while Athens itself, during and after its empire, was better and more gently governed than oligarchic cities like Corinth.

Indeed, there is reason in the contention of Edward Freeman that the average Athenian's political training and ability more nearly resembled that of the average member of Parliament (or of the American Congress) than that merely of the average citizen of England or America.

"Moderns are apt to blame the Athenian Democracy for putting power in hands unfit to use it. The truer way of putting the case would be to say that the Athenian Democracy made a greater number of citizens fit to use power than could be made fit by any other system. . . . The Assembly was an assembly of citizens — of average citizens without sifting or selection; but it was an assembly of citizens among whom the political average stood higher than it ever did in any other state. . . . The Athenian, by constantly hearing questions of foreign policy and domestic administration argued by the greatest orators the world ever saw, received a political training which nothing else in the history of mankind has been found to equal."[1]

199. Imperfect Nature of the Democracy; the Final Verdict upon the Empire. — It is easy to see that the Athenian system was imperfect, tried by later standards of representative institutions; but it is more to the point to see that it was an advance in political development over anything before attempted. Of course, in Attica itself the thirty-five thousand male citizens were less than half the adult male population. Even adding the cleruchs, the fifty thousand cannot have been more than one fifteenth of the adult males of the empire; while — worse than the mere limitation in numbers — they stood all for one locality, and admission to their ranks came only by blood descent. It certainly is to be regretted that Athens could not

[1] Freeman, *Federal Government*. On the advantages of small states, read pp. 37–43 (first edition), from which these passages are taken. Read also a spicy paragraph in Wheeler's *Alexander*, 116, 117. Galton argues that the average natural *ability* of the Athenian was as much higher than ours as ours is above that of the African negro (*Hereditary Genius*, 342, American edition, 1887); but probably Freeman is nearer right in placing the emphasis upon difference in training.

continue to admit her resident aliens to citizenship, as had been done once by Cleisthenes; it is to be regretted that she could not extend to the men of her subject and allied cities that imperial citizenship which she did leave to her cleruchs, as Rome was to do much later. But the important thing is, that she had moved farther in both directions than had any other state up to this time. The admission of metics by Cleisthenes and the cleruch citizenship were notable advances. *The broadest policy of the age ought not to be condemned as narrow.*

200. Leaders and Parties: Pericles. — A few words will summarize party history up to the leadership of Pericles. All factions in Athens had coalesced patriotically against Persia, and afterward in fortifying the city; but the brief era of good feeling was followed by a renewal of party strife. The aristocrats rallied around Cimon, while the two wings of the democrats were led at first, as before the invasion, by Aristeides and Themistocles. Themistocles was ostracized,[1] and his friend *Ephialtes* became the leader of the extreme democrats. When Ephialtes was assassinated by aristocratic opponents, *Pericles* stepped into his place.

PERICLES. — A portrait bust, now in the Vatican.

The aristocratic party had been ruined by its pro-Spartan policy (§ 185); the two divisions of the democrats reunited, and for a quarter of a century Pericles was in practice as absolute as a dictator, so that Thucydides characterizes Athens during this period of her greatness as "a democracy in name only, in reality ruled by its ablest citizen." Pericles belonged

[1] Special topic: Themistocles after Plataea; note opposing views, and see especially Cox, *Athenian Empire*, 15–24.

to the ancient nobility of Athens, though to families that had always taken the side of the people. His mother was the niece of Cleisthenes the reformer, and his father had impeached Miltiades, so that the enmity between Cimon and Pericles was hereditary. The supremacy of Pericles rested in no way upon the flattering arts of later popular leaders. His proud, austere reserve verged on haughtiness, and he was rarely seen in public. He scorned to display emotion. His stately gravity and unruffled calm were styled Olympian by his admirers — who added that, like Zeus, he could on occasion overbear opposition by the majestic thunder of his oratory. His great authority came from no public office. He was elected general, it is true, fifteen times, but in the board he had most weight chiefly because of his unofficial position as recognized "leader of the people" (§ 193). It must be remembered that, general or not, he was master only so long as he could carry the Assembly, and that he was compelled to defend each of his measures against all who chose to attack it. The long and steady confidence given him honors the people of Athens no less than the statesman, and his noblest eulogy is that which he claimed for himself upon his death-bed — that, with all his authority, and despite the virulence of party strife, "no Athenian has had to put on mourning because of me."

He stated his own policy clearly, and in his lifetime, on the whole, carried it to success. As to the empire, he sought to make Athens at once the ruler and the teacher of Hellas, the political, intellectual, and artistic center; and, within the city itself, he wished the people to rule not merely in theory, but in fact, as the best means of training themselves for high responsibilities.

C. Intellectual and Artistic Athens.

201. The True Significance of Athens. — After all, in politics and war, Hellas has had superiors. Her true service to mankind and her imperishable glory lie in her intellectual and artistic development. It was in the Athens of Pericles that

these phases of Greek life developed most fully, and this fact makes the real significance of that city in history.

Map of Athens, with some structures of the Roman period.

202. Architecture and Sculpture. — Part of the policy of Pericles was to adorn Athens from the surplus revenues of the empire. The justice of this may easily be questioned, but the

result, just at that period of the perfection of Greek art, was to make the city the most beautiful in the world, so that, ever since, her mere ruins have enthralled the admiration of men. Everywhere arose temples, colonnades, porticoes, theaters — inimitable to this day.

"No description can give anything but a very inadequate idea of the splendor, the strength, the beauty, which met the eye of the Athenian, whether he walked round the fortifications, or through the broad streets of the Peiraeus, or along the Long Walls, or in the shades of the Academy, or amidst the tombs of the Ceramicus; whether he chaffered in the market place, or attended assemblies in the Pnyx, or loitered in one of the numerous porticoes, or watched the exercises in the Gymnasia, or listened to music in the Odeum or plays in the theaters, or joined the throng of worshipers ascending to the great gateway of the Acropolis. And this magnificence was not the result of centuries of toil; it was the work of fifty years. . . . Athens became a vast workshop, in which artisans of every kind found employment, all, in their various degrees, contributing to the execution of the plans of the master minds, Pheidias, Ictinus, Callicrates, Mnesicles, and others." — Abbott, *Pericles*, 303–308.

The center of this architectural splendor was the ancient citadel of the Acropolis, no longer needed as a fortification, but crowned with white marble, and devoted to purposes of religion and art. The "holy hill" was inaccessible except on the west. Here was built a stately stairway of sixty marble steps, leading to a series of noble colonnades and porticoes (the *Propylaea*) of surpassing beauty. From these the visitor emerged upon the leveled top of the Acropolis, to find himself surrounded by temples and statues, any one of which alone might make the fame of the proudest modern city. Just in front of the entrance stood the colossal bronze statue of *Athena the Defender*, whose broad spear point glittering in the sun was the first sign of the city to the mariner far out at sea. On the right of the entrance and a little to the rear was the temple of the *Wingless Victory*, and near the center of the open space rose the larger structures of the *Erechtheum*[1] and the *Par-*

[1] Special reports: fuller accounts of all these works may be called for with profit.

1. Theatre of Dionysus
2. Theatre of Herodes Atticus: Roman Period.
3. Temple of Wingless Victory
4. Propylaea
5. Parthenon
6. Old Temple of Athene
7. Erectheum
8. Modern Museum
9. Old Building, unknown
10. Terrace Walls
PLAN OF THE
ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS
(BOETTICHER, WITH OMISSIONS)
SCALE OF YARDS
0 50 100 150
L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.

thenon. This last, the temple of the virgin goddess Athene (*Parthenon* means "maiden's chamber"), remains absolutely

THE PARTHENON TO-DAY, from the northwest.

peerless in its loveliness among the buildings of the world. It was of no great size, — only some one hundred feet by two

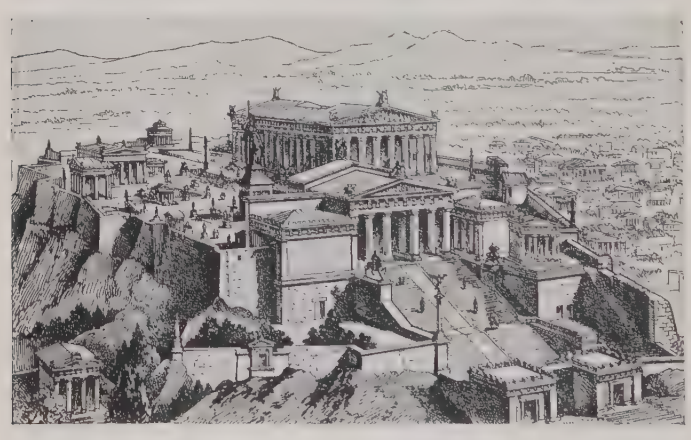
FIGURES FROM THE PARTHENON FRIEZE.

hundred and fifty (the proportions, more exactly, are as four to nine),—while the marble pillars supporting its low pediment rose only thirty-four feet from their base of three receding steps, so that the effect was due wholly, not to the sublimity and grandeur of vast masses, but to the perfection of proportion, to exquisite beauty of line, and to the delicacy and profusion of ornament. On this structure, indeed, was lavished without stint the highest art of the art capital of all time. *Pheidias* and his disciples cared for the ornamentation within and without. Fifty life-size, or colossal, statues in the pediments, and the four thousand square feet of smaller reliefs in frieze and metopes, were all finished with the same perfect skill, even in the unseen parts.

THE HERMES OF PRAXITELES.

"The beauty and perfection of all the invisible parts are such that the cost of labor and money must have been enormous. There is no show whatever for much of this extraordinary finish, which can only be seen by going on the roof or by opening a wall. Yet the religiousness of the unseen work has secured that what *is* seen shall be perfect with no ordinary perfection."—MAHAFFY, *Greek Civilization*, 143–144.

Pheidias still ranks the greatest of sculptors, rivaled, if at all, only by his pupil, *Praxiteles*. Much of the work on the Acropolis he merely designed, but the great statues of Athene were his special work. The bronze statue has already been mentioned. Beside this, there was, within the Parthenon, a smaller, but still colossal, statue in gold and ivory, even more notable. These two works divide the honor of Pheidias' great fame with his *Zeus* at Olympia, which, in the opinion of the ancients, surpassed all other sculpture in grandeur of conception and in awe-inspiring attributes. Pheidias said that he planned the latter work, thinking of Homer's Zeus, at the nod of whose ambrosial locks Olympus trembled. The *Hermes* of Praxiteles is one of the few great works of antiquity that survive to us; of his *Marble Faun* we have a famous copy, which plays a part in Hawthorne's novel.



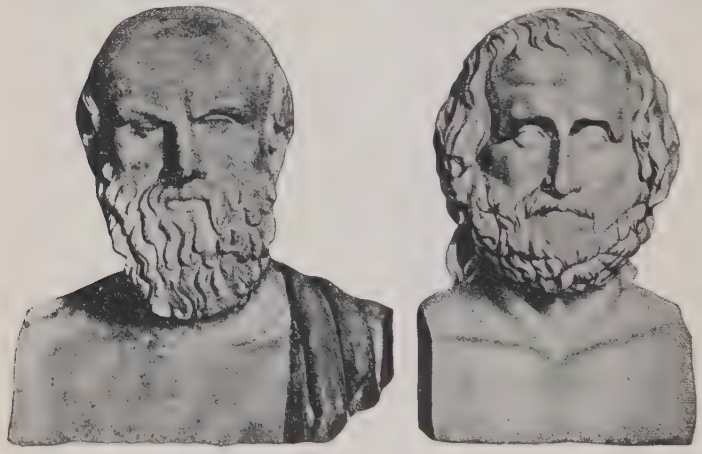
THE ACROPOLIS, as restored by Rehlender.

203. Painting. — In sculpture, then, the Greeks remain easily masters. About their painting we know less. Until the age of Pericles that art had been used chiefly to decorate vases; now first it became independent in the work of *Polygnotus*,

THE ACROPOLIS TO-DAY, from the west: Propylaea and Temple of Victory.

an alien Greek, upon whom the Athenians conferred citizenship, and who assisted in adorning the temples of the Acropolis. A higher development in technique came later (§ 256), but Polygnotus remains famous for a lofty sublimity of style. It was said that it was good for the young to look upon his work, for he painted men "as they ought to be."

204. The Drama. — In the age of Pericles, the chief form of poetry became the *tragic drama* — the highest development of



Aeschylus. Euripides.

Portrait busts, now in the Capitoline Museum.

Greek literature. As the tenth century was the epic age, and the seventh and sixth the lyric, so the fifth century begins the dramatic period.

The drama originated in the songs and dances of a chorus in honor of Dionysus, god of wine. The leader of the chorus came at length to recite stories in the intervals between the songs. Thespis (§ 131) at Athens, in the age of Peisistratus, is said to have developed this leader into an actor, apart from the chorus and carrying on dialogue with it. Now *Aeschylus* added another actor, and his younger contemporary, *Sophocles*,

a third. Aeschylus, Sophocles, and their successor, *Euripides*, are the three greatest Greek tragedians. They carried this noble form of literature to its highest expression. Together they produced some two hundred plays, of which nine tenths are lost.

The Greek drama will not admit readily of comparison with the modern drama. Sophocles and Shakespeare differ somewhat as the Parthenon differs from a vast Gothic cathedral. The "unities" of time and place were strictly preserved by the Greek; the scene never changed, and all the *action* had to be such as could have taken place within one day; everything else necessary to understand the action had to be *told* by one of the actors. The plays were presented, however, in sets of three (a trilogy), so that a longer series of connected events could be treated by the same dramatist. Never more than three actors appeared at once, but the chorus continued as an important factor, to add explanations and to voice the spectators' judgment, "to breathe forth the fire and shed the tears of the play." [1]

SOPHOCLES. — A portrait-statue, now in the Lateran Museum at Rome.

Attic comedy arose also from the worship of the wine god —

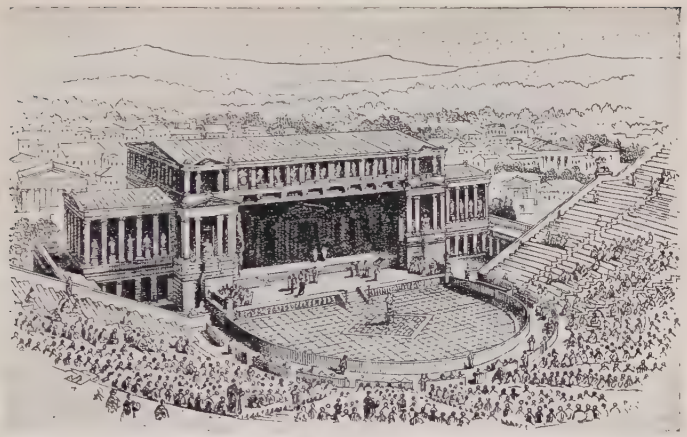
[1] Some idea of the nature of the Greek tragedy may be obtained by reading the best modern translations and imitations, like Browning's *Agamemnon* and his *Balaustion's Adventure*.

not from the great religious festivals, however, but from the ruder village merrymakings, marked by indecent rites and orgies. It kept a scurrilous license throughout the century, and was used to attack public characters like Pericles and Socrates. Still, its great master, *Aristophanes*, for his wit and genius, must ever remain one of the bright names in literature.

205. Pericles' Policy as to Theater Money. — The great *Theater of Dionysus*, in Athens, was on the southeast slope of the

THEATER OF DIONYSUS AT ATHENS. — Present condition, looking toward the Acropolis.

Acropolis — the rising seats, cut in a semicircle into the rocky hill, looking forth, beyond the stage, over the blue Aegean. It could accommodate practically the whole free male population of the city. Here, twice a year, for some days, the masterpieces of the Greek drama were presented. Pericles secured from the public treasury the admission fee for each citizen who chose to ask for it. This measure was altogether different from the payment of officers and dicasts, and perhaps came nearer



THEATER OF DIONYSUS AT ATHENS. — Restoration, looking from the hillside.

the vicious distribution of gratuities to a populace; but it must be kept in mind that the Greek stage was the modern pulpit and press in one. The practice, on the whole, was rather to advance religious and intellectual training than to give amusement. It was a form of adult education at state expense.

THUCYDIDES. — Capitoline Museum.

206. History. — *Prose* literature appears in history, philosophy, and the essay. The three great historians of the period are *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, and *Xenophon*. For charm of narrative they have never been excelled. Herodotus was a native of Halicarnassus; he traveled widely, lived long at Athens as the friend of Pericles, and finally in Italy composed his

great *History of the Persian War*, with an introduction covering the world's history up to that event. Thucydides wrote the *History of the Peloponnesian War* (§ 211 ff.) to the year 410 B.C. Xenophon, who belongs rather to the next century, completed this story, and gave us, with other works, the *Anabasis*, an account of the expedition of the Ten Thousand Greeks through the Persian Empire in 401 B.C. (§ 222).

207. Philosophy. — The age saw a rapid development in philosophy — centered also at Athens. *Anaxagoras* of Ionia, the friend of Pericles, taught that the ruling principle was *Mind*[1]: "In the beginning, all things were chaos; then came *Intelligence*, and set all in order." He also attempted rational explanations of strange natural phenomena, which had been regarded as miraculous.

But Anaxagoras, like *Democritus* and *Empedocles* of the same period, turned in the main from the old problem of a fundamental principle to a new problem — how man *knows* the universe. Their early attempts at explanation were not very satisfactory, and so next came the *Sophists*, to close one era by a skeptical philosophy. Man, they held, cannot reach truth itself, but must be content to know appearances. They taught Rhetoric, and were the first of the philosophers to accept pay for their services. Thus they were accused by conservative men of advertising, for gain, to teach youth how to make the worse appear the better reason, and the name sophist received an evil significance; but many of them were certainly brilliant thinkers, who did much to clear away old mental rubbish. The most famous were *Gorgias*, the rhetorician, a Sicilian Greek at Athens, and his pupil, *Isocrates*, whose essays and orations represent the most famous Greek prose, and were the models on which Cicero trained himself — to influence all later prose.

Socrates, the founder of a new philosophy, is sometimes confounded with these sophists. Like them, he abandoned the attempt to understand the material universe, and ridiculed gently

[1] Review his chief predecessors, § 142.

the explanations of Anaxagoras; but he took for his motto, "know thyself," and considered philosophy to consist in right-thinking upon human conduct. Socrates was a poor man, an artisan-sculptor who neglected his trade to talk in the market place. He wore no sandals and dressed meanly; and his large, bald head and ugly face, with its thick lips and flat nose, made him good sport for the comic poets. His practice was to entrap unwary antagonists into public conversation by innocent-looking questions, and then, by the inconsistencies of their answers, to show up the shallowness of their conventional opinions. This of course afforded huge merriment to the crowd of youths who followed him, and it raised him bitter enemies among his victims; but his method of conversation was a permanent addition to our intellectual weapons, and his beauty of soul, his devotion to knowledge, and his largeness of spirit make him the greatest name in Greek history. Late in life (399 B.C.) he was accused of impiety and of corrupting the youth, and was condemned to death by the dicasts on a close vote, mainly because he would not condescend to defend himself in any ordinary way. He refused to escape from prison, and after memorable conversations with his friends upon immortality, he drank the fatal hemlock with a gentle jest upon his lips. His execution is the greatest blot upon the intelligence of the Athenian democracy; but it must be remembered that that body was keenly religious and jealous of attacks upon its deities.[1] Socrates' disciple, Plato, pictures him for us in his *Dialogues*, but rather, perhaps, as the mouthpiece of Plato than as the real Socrates. Xenophon's *Memorabilia* is a truer portrait.

Plato (the "broad-browed"), with his great pupil and rival *Aristotle*, belongs really to the following period of history, but may be best treated at this point. Plato taught that *ideas* are the only real things, eternal and unchangeable; the phenomena of this world are only shadows of the ideas, which exist in heaven. He was much influenced by the Pythagoreans, and

[1] On the Greek religious feeling in the Age of Pericles and later, see Mahaffy, *Social Life*, 348–384.

his philosophy is shot through with noble poetic imagination. His pupil Aristotle (born at Stagira in Macedonia) established a systematic body of philosophy that dominated the world until very modern times. His work was too many-sided to be summed up in any brief phrase. Besides his philosophical treatises he wrote upon rhetoric, logic, poetry, politics, and physics. He is by far the most modern in spirit of all the Greek philosophers.

208. Education. — Education at Athens typifies that of Ionian Greece. It aimed to train harmoniously the intellect, the sense of beauty, the moral nature, and the body. At the age of seven the boy entered school, but he was constantly under the eye not only of the teacher, but of a trusted servant of his own family, called a pedagogue. Indeed, no other people have ever been so solicitous to preserve their boys and youth from evil and contamination; and Professor Mahaffy thinks that Greek boys retained a delicacy of thought and feeling found among no other people. The chief instruments of instruction were Homer and music.

THE WRESTLERS.

Homer, it has well been said, was to the Greek at once Bible, Shakespeare, and Robinson Crusoe.

When the youth left school he only entered upon a wider training of a like kind — in the Assembly, in the lecture halls of the rhetoricians and sophists, in the countless festivals and religious processions and dramatic representations of his city, and in the constant enjoyment of the noblest and purest works of art.

The Disk Thrower.—After Myron. Now in the Vatican.

Physical training[1] began with the child and continued through old age. No Greek youth would pass a day without devoting some hours to the development of his body and to overcoming any physical defect or awkwardness. All classes of citizens, except those bound by necessity to the workshop, met for exercise. The result was a perfection of physical power and beauty never attained so universally by any other people. Indeed it was from this perfection of the body, and from the unrivaled opportunity to study it constantly in all the exercises of the gymnasium, that the surpassing excellence of Greek sculpture came. Says Symonds: "The whole race rehearsed the great works of Pheidias and Polygnotus in physical exercises, before it learned to express itself in marble or in color."

[1] Read Gardner, *New Chapters*, 266–270.

209. Summary: Extent and Degree of Culture.[1] — The amazing extent and degree of Athenian culture overpower the imagination. With the few exceptions indicated, the famous men mentioned in the paragraphs above were all Athenian citizens. That one city with its small free population gave birth to more famous men of the first rank in this one century, it has been said, than all the world has ever produced in any other equal period of time. Others swarmed to the same center from less favored parts of Hellas; for, despite the condemnation of Socrates and some other such crimes, it remains true that no other city in the world afforded such freedom of thought, and that nowhere else was artistic merit so appreciated. The lists of names that have been mentioned give but a faint impression of the splendid throngs of brilliant poets, artists, philosophers, and orators, who jostled each other in the streets of Athens. This, after all, is the final justification of the Athenian democracy; and Abbott (*History*, II. 415), one of its sternest modern critics, is forced to exclaim, "Never before or since has life developed so richly as it developed in the beautiful city which lay at the feet of the virgin goddess."

The finest glorification of the Athenian spirit as a whole is contained in the great funeral oration delivered by Pericles over the fallen Athenians at the close of the second year of the Peloponnesian War. Thucydides gives the speech and represents no doubt the ideas, if not the words, of the orator: —

"And we have not forgotten to provide for our weary spirits many relaxations from toil; we have our regular games and sacrifices throughout the year; at home the style of our life is refined, and the delight which we daily feel in all these things helps to banish melancholy. Because of the greatness of our city, the fruits of the whole earth flow in upon us; so that we enjoy the goods of other countries as freely as of our own. . . .

"And in the matter of education, whereas our adversaries from early youth are always undergoing laborious exercises which are to make them brave, we live at ease, and yet are equally ready to face the perils which they face. . . .

[1] Holm, I. 1–4; Mahaffy, *Social Life*.

"If then we prefer to meet danger with a light heart but without laborious training, and with a courage which is gained by habit and not enforced by law, are we not greatly the gainers?

"We are lovers of the beautiful, yet simple in our tastes, and we cultivate the mind without loss of manliness. Wealth we employ, not for talk and ostentation, but when there is a real use for it. To avow poverty with us is no disgrace; the true disgrace is in doing nothing to avoid it. An Athenian citizen does not neglect the state because he takes care of his own household; and even those of us who are engaged in business have a very fair idea of politics. We alone regard a man who takes no interest in public affairs, not as a harmless, but as a useless character. . . .

"In the hour of trial Athens alone is superior to the report of her. No enemy who comes against her is indignant at the reverses which he sustains at the hands of such a city; no subject complains that his masters are unworthy of him. And we shall assuredly not be without witnesses; there are mighty monuments of our power which will make us the wonder of this and of succeeding ages. . . . For we have compelled every land and every sea to open a path for our valor, and have everywhere planted eternal memorials of our friendship and of our enmity. . . .

"To sum up: I say that Athens is the school of Hellas, and that the individual Athenian in his own person seems to have the power of adapting himself to the most varied forms of action with the utmost versatility and grace. . . .

"I would have you day by day fix your eyes upon the greatness of Athens, until you become filled with the love of her; and when you are impressed by the spectacle of her glory, reflect that this empire has been acquired by men who knew their duty and had the courage to do it, and who in the hour of conflict had the fear of dishonor always present to them. . . .

"For the whole earth is a sepulcher of famous men; not only are they commemorated by columns and inscriptions in their own country, but in foreign lands there dwells also an unwritten memorial of them, graven not on stone but in the hearts of men. Make them your examples, and, esteeming courage to be freedom and freedom to be happiness, do not weigh too nicely the perils of war. . . ."

210. Summary: Limitations. — At the same time two limitations in Greek culture must be noted.

a. It rested necessarily on slavery and consequently could not honor labor, as modern culture at least tries to do. It was militant rather than industrial. Trades and commerce were

left largely to the free non-citizen class, and actual manual labor was performed mainly by slaves. As a rule, it is true, this slavery was not harsh. In Athens, in particular, the slaves were ordinarily hardly to be distinguished from the poorer citizens, and indeed they were better treated than were poor citizens in many oligarchic states; but there was always the possibility of cruelty and of judicial torture, and in the mines, even in Attica, the slaves were killed off brutally by the merciless hardships to which they were subjected.

b. Greek culture was for males only. It is not probable that the wife of Pheidias or of Thucydides could read. Women had lost the freedom of the semi-barbaric society of Homer's time, without gaining much in return. Except at Sparta, where physical training was thought needful for them, they passed a secluded life in separate women's apartments, with no public interests, appearing rarely on the streets. At best they were only higher domestic servants. The chivalry of the medieval knight toward woman and the love of the modern gentleman for his wife were equally unthinkable by the finest Greek society of this age.

A rare exception proves the rule. No account of the Athens of Pericles should omit mention of *Aspasia*. She was a native of Miletus, loved by Pericles. Since she was not an Athenian citizen he could not marry her; but he lived with her in all respects as his wife, a union not grievously offensive to Greek ideas; and her dazzling wit and beauty made his home the focus of the intellectual life of Athens. Anaxagoras, Socrates, Pheidias, delighted in her conversation, and she has sometimes been credited with inspiring the policy of Pericles himself; but she is the only woman who need be named in Greek history after the time of Sappho and Corinna.[1]

III. THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

211. Causes. — The Thirty Years' Truce between Athens and Sparta ran only half its length. The immediate occasion for the renewal of the conflict was some assistance that the Athe-

[1] The student with a taste for a noble book should read Landor's *Pericles and Aspasia*.

GREECE
AT THE BEGINNING OF THE
PELOPONNESIAN
WAR
SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 75
ATHENIAN EMPIRE
SPARTA AND HER ALLIES
NEUTRAL
Longitude East from Greenwich
THRACE
MACEDON
THESSALY
EPEIRUS
ACTOLIA
ACHAEA
ELIS
ARCADIA
ARGOLIS
LACEDAEMON
ATTICA
EUBOEA
AEGEAN SEA
IONIAN SEA
Thracian Sea
PROPONTIS
BITHYNIA
PHRYGIA
MYSIA
LYDIA
CARIA
Epidamnus
Amphipolis
Olynthus
Potidaea
Torone
Cambunian Mts.
Pagasaean Gulf
Strymon R.
Aegospotami R.
Hellespont
Byzantium
Lampsacus
Cyzicus
Abydos
TROYLAND
Ida Mt.
Mt. Olympus
Mt. Pindus
Mytilene
Phocaea
Smyrna
Clazomenae
Colophon
Ephesus
Miletus
Halicarnassus
Cnidus
Cynossema Pt.
Hermus R.
Cayster R.
Maeander R.
Sardis
THASOS
IMBROS
LEMNOS
LESBOS
ARGINUSSAE IS.
CHIOS
Chios
Erythrae
SAMOS
ICARIA
ANDROS
TENOS
DELOS
NAXOS
COS
RHODES
CEOS
MELOS
THERA
CORCYRA
SYBOTA
Ambracia
Anactorium
LEUCAS
CEPHALLENIA
ZACYNTHUS
Naupactus
Olympia
PYLOS
Sparta
Corinth
Argos
Sicyon
Pellene
Mantinea
Megara
Plataea
Thebes
Delphi
Doris
Thebes
Decelea
Athens
Peiraeus
SALAMIS
AEGINA
Saronic Gulf
Argolic Gulf
Messenian Gulf
Laconian Gulf
Ionian Sea
Ida Mt.
Mt. Olympus
Longitude East from Greenwich

nians gave Corcyra against Corinth in 432 B.C., but the real causes lay in natural antagonism of character and in a standing conflict of interests. Sparta began to pose as the champion of a free Hellas, and finally sent an ultimatum: Athens must let all the Greek cities go free; that is, abandon her empire. Athens replied that Sparta might first set free Messenia and the Perioeci towns of Laconia; and the war began.

212. Resources and Plans. — The Peloponnesian League with its allies could muster a hundred thousand hoplites, against whom in that day no army in the world could stand; but it could not keep in the field any considerable fraction of that force longer than a few weeks. Sparta could not capture Athens, therefore, and must depend upon ravaging Attic territory and inducing Athenian allies to revolt. Athens had only some twenty-six thousand hoplites at her command, half of whom were needed for distant garrison duty; but she had a navy even more unmatched on the sea than the Peloponnesian army was on land; her walls were impregnable; the islands of Euboea and Salamis, and the open spaces within the Long Walls, could receive her country people with their flocks and herds; the corn trade of south Russia was securely in her hands, the grain ships entering the Peiraeus as usual, however the Spartans might hold the open country of Attica; and Athens could easily afford to support her population for a time from her annual revenues, to say nothing of the immense surplus of six thousand talents in the treasury. Under these conditions Pericles refused to meet the Spartans in battle, and confined himself to ravaging the Peloponnesian coasts with his navy. Neither party could get at the other. The war promised to be a matter of patience and endurance.

213. An Unforeseen Factor. — Pericles died in the third year of the war, but his plan apparently would have worked well except for a tragic fatality that had already fallen upon Athens. A terrible plague had been ravaging Asia, and, just at this time, reached the Aegean. In general, in Greece it did little harm;

but in Athens — the streets overcrowded with the population of all Attica living in unusual and unsanitary conditions — the pestilence returned each summer for some years and was deadly beyond description. It is estimated that a fourth of the population was swept away, and the demoralization of society was even more fatal.[1]

214. Summary of Events and Traits. — Still, Athens recovered her buoyant hope, and the war lasted from 431 to 404 B.C., with one short and ill-kept truce. The notable matters for special reports or for further study are: —

(1) Athenian superiority in naval tactics — the easy equality of an Athenian squadron in the early years to triple its numbers (illustrated by Phormio's engagements in the Corinthian gulf).

(2) Massacres of prisoners: Thebans by Plataeans, 431 B.C.; Plataeans by Thebans, 427 B.C.; Mytilenaean oligarchs by Athens (the story of the decree and the reprieve), the Melians by Athens, 415 B.C.; thousands of Athenians in the mines of Syracuse; the four thousand Athenians by Sparta after Aegospotami.

(3) The condemnation of the Athenian generals after the victory of *Arginusae*.

(4) *Cleon's* leadership at Athens.

(5) The surrender of one hundred and twenty Spartans at *Sphacteria*.

(6) The war in Thrace.

(7) The "Peace of Nicias."

(8) Alcibiades.

(9) The Syracusan expedition — Nicias.

215. The Closing Years: Rule of the Four Hundred; Persian Gold. — The turning-point in the war was the unwise and misconducted Athenian expedition against Syracuse. Two hundred perfectly equipped ships and over forty thousand men — among them eleven thousand of the flower of the Athenian hoplites — were pitifully sacrificed by the superstition and miserable generalship of their leader, the good but stupid Nicias (413 B.C.). Even after this crushing disaster Athens refused peace that should limit her empire. Every nerve was strained, and the last resources and reserve funds exhausted to build and man

[1] Read the account in Thucydides.

new fleets. Indeed, the war lasted nine years more, and part of the time Athens seemed as supreme in the Aegean as ever. Two things are notable in the closing chapters of the struggle — the attempt at political reaction in Athens, and the betrayal of the Asiatic Greeks to Persia by Sparta.

a. In 411 B.C., after a century of quiet, the oligarchs tried to secure the government. Wealthy men of moderate opinion were wearied by the ruinous taxation of the war. The democracy had blundered sadly and had shown its unfitness for dealing with foreign relations, where secrecy and dispatch are so essential; and at home it had fallen under the control of a new class of leaders — men of the people, like *Cleon* the tanner, and *Hyperbolus* the lampmaker, men of strong will and of ability, but rude, unscrupulous, and demagogic. Under these conditions the officers of the fleet conspired with the oligarchic secret societies at home and terrorized the city by the assassination of leading democrats. The Assembly was induced to pass a decree for a new constitution. Five of the conspirators chose ninety-five others, and each of the hundred added three more, making a council of *Four Hundred.* This body was to govern the city and appoint all magistrates. It was pledged to create an Assembly of the five thousand wealthier citizens. This step the oligarchs hesitated to take. Meantime, they betrayed Athenian interests to Sparta, and proved generally incompetent, except in murder and plunder. After a few months, the Athenian fleet at Samos revolted and deposed its oligarchic officers; then the democracy at home expelled the Four Hundred and restored the old constitution.

b. In 412 B.C., immediately after the destruction of the Athenian army and fleet in Sicily, Persian satraps appeared again upon the Aegean coast, and *Sparta bought the aid of their gold by promising to betray the freedom of the Asiatic Greeks,* to whom the Athenian name had been a shield for seventy years.

216. Aegospotami: the Surrender. — Persian funds now built fleet after fleet for Sparta, and slowly Athens was exhausted,

despite some brilliant victories. In 405 B.C. her last fleet, discouraged and demoralized and possibly betrayed by its commanders, was surprised and routed at Aegospotami. *Lysander*, the Spartan commander, executed in cold blood the four thousand Athenian citizens among the prisoners.

Athens still held out through a terrible siege, until it was starved into submission in 404 B.C. Corinth and Thebes wished to raze it to the earth; but Sparta had no mind to remove so useful a check upon Thebes, and was content with gentler terms. Athens renounced her empire and all her old alliances, surrendered all her ships but twelve, and bound herself to follow Sparta in peace and war. Then the Long Walls and the fortifications of the Peiraeus were demolished, to the music of Peloponnesian flutes, and Hellas was declared free. In reality it remained only to see to what master Hellas would fall.

IV. THE WESTERN GREEKS IN THE FIFTH AND FOURTH CENTURIES.

217. A Brief Sketch of Events in Magna Graecia ought to be included in this portion of Greek history. The tyrant *Gelo* and his brother and successor *Hiero* for a few years after the repulse of Carthage (480 B.C.) made Syracuse the most powerful city in the West; indeed, for a short time just before the full bloom of Athens, it was the center of Greek civilization and the most brilliant city in the world. Between 475 and 450 B.C. the tyrants gave way to democracies in Magna Graecia; but the old political union of the cities was lost, and petty wars and incessant strife of faction blasted the rising culture.

It was these dissensions and the wars between Ionians and Dorians in Sicily that called in Athens (415–413 B.C.), to her own ruin, during the Peloponnesian War. Then, in 409 B.C., like Persia in the East, Carthage renewed her designs, and quickly overran all the island except Syracuse, which was saved by a new tyrant, *Dionysius*. This remarkable ruler built up a great military power, and in a long war won back much

of the island, setting up dependent tyrants in the various cities, after the fashion of Gelo before him. Thus the prize of Sicily hung between Greek and Carthaginian for a century more, until it was finally seized by Rome (§§ 359–362). The only episode worthy of attention here was the career of *Timoleon the Liberator*[1] (344–336 B.C.), a Corinthian hero, who for a brief period drove out the tyrants, preserved order, and checked the barbarians. Soon after his death the noted *Agathocles* restored the rule of tyrants, which lasted until Rome became mistress.

For Further Reading. — Sources: (1) The interesting period, 479–431 B.C., is singularly lacking in authorities, because of the loss of ancient manuscripts. Almost the only approach to a contemporary narrative is the brief account with which Thucydides prefaces his history of the war. Plutarch, however, had access to many sources since lost, and therefore his *Lives* for this period (*Themistocles*, *Aristeides*, *Pericles*) have the character of a source to us. The same is true of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*. (2) For the war, Thucydides is the great authority; he was an Athenian general, and he was banished because his carelessness permitted a serious loss in Thrace, but we have no reason to think him unfair, unless it be toward his accuser, Cleon. Xenophon, in his *Hellenica*, takes up the story of the latter part of the war. Plutarch's *Alcibiades* and *Nicias* are useful for the same period.

Modern authorities for the whole period, 479–404 B.C.: Cox's *Athenian Empire;* Grant's *Greece in the Age of Pericles;* Abbott's *Pericles;* Cox's *Greek Statesmen;* Lloyd's *Age of Pericles;* and the *Histories* of Holm, Grote, Abbott, and Curtius.

For art and culture: Mahaffy's *Survey* and *Social Life;* Murray; Jebb; Tarbell; Marshall; and the works of the Greek dramatists and philosophers themselves.

For the Western Greeks: Plutarch's *Timoleon* and *Dion* and Freeman's *Story of Sicily.*

Special Reports (see suggestions also in §§ 179, 181, 200, 214, 217): —

1. Trial and death of Socrates (Plato's *Apology;* Xenophon's *Memorabilia;* Curtius, IV. 148–164).

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[1] Special reports: (1) Timoleon; (2) the parallels between the fate of east and west Hellas in the fifth and fourth centuries (see Holm, II. 524).

2. Attacks upon the friends of Pericles just before the Peloponnesian War.

3. The attempts to remodel Greece: (*a*) by Sparta just after the Persian War, through the Amphictyonic League; and (*b*) by Athens later, through the creation of a new religious league (Holm, II. 237–239).

4. Agathocles' invasion of Africa in war with Carthage.

Imaginative Exercises. — This period affords excellent material for exercises based upon the training of the historic imagination. Let the student absorb all the information he can find upon some historic subject until he is infused with its spirit, and then reproduce it *from the inside*, with the dramatic spirit — as an actor in that time, not in the descriptive method of another age. The following topics are suggested (the list can be indefinitely extended, and such exercises may be arranged for any period where an approach is made to exhaustive study): —

1. A captive Persian's letter to a friend after Plataea.
2. A dialogue between Socrates and Xantippe.
3. An address by a revolted Helot at Ithomé to his compatriots.
4. Extracts from a diary of Pericles.
5. A day at the Olympic games (choose some particular date).

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE FALL OF ATHENS TO THE FALL OF HELLAS. 404–338 B.C.

218. Decline of the City State. — At Aegospotami the brilliant political work of Athens was undone. Persia and Carthage had already begun again to enslave the Sicilian and Asiatic Greeks: and in the European peninsula the power which so long had kept these barbarians in check was crushed.

The Athenian Empire had lasted seventy glorious years. Nearly an equal time was yet to elapse before Hellas fell under Macedonian sway; but this period is one of shame or of profitless conflict, and it need not detain us long. It falls into three divisions — the brutal terrorism of Sparta, the hopeless anarchy under Thebes, and the subtle encroachments of the northern monarchy. In the whole period, *the city state is declining, — to give way to the system of great monarchies.* Neither Thebes nor Sparta make any contributions toward the accomplishment of Hellenic unity.

I. THE SPARTAN SUPREMACY.

A. Character in General.

219. Harmosts and Decarchies. — For thirty years Sparta was to be physical mistress of Greece more completely than ever Athens was; and had she been capable of enlightened leadership, this opportunity would have been the fairest of all to make a single Greek state. But the cities of the old Athenian Empire found that they had exchanged a wise, mild rule for a coarse and stupid despotism. Their old tribute was doubled; a Spartan harmost (military governor), supported by a garrison, held supreme authority in each city;[1] and such local con-

[1] For a comparison of Athenian and Spartan rule, read Cox, *Athenian Empire*, 229–231. Under Athens, garrisons in subject cities had been rare exceptions.

trol as was left to the citizens was everywhere taken from the old democracies and given to boards of oligarchs — commonly made up of ten persons each, and so called *decarchies*. The garrisons plundered at will; the harmosts grew rich from extortion and bribes; the decarchies were slavishly subservient to their masters and protectors, the harmosts, while they wreaked a long pent-up vengeance upon their fellow-citizens in confiscation, outrage, expulsion, assassination, and massacre. With regard to these decarchies, an Athenian exclaimed, just after their overthrow: —

"What form of oppression escaped them? Or what deed of shame or cruelty did they not perpetrate? They found their friends among the most lawless; they considered traitors as benefactors; they chose to be themselves slaves to Helots [the harmosts were often of low birth] that they might be supported while they outraged their country." — Isocrates, IV. iii.

220. A Famous Example: the "Thirty Tyrants" at Athens. — For a brief time Athens itself suffered from this form of Spartan rule. Lysander had appointed a committee of thirty from the oligarchic clubs of Athens to "reëstablish the constitution of the fathers"; meantime they were to exercise dictatorial power. Their guiding genius was *Critias*, a brilliant and unscrupulous pupil of Socrates. The more cautious members rallied around *Theramenes*, a shifty politician who had played many parts. The Thirty filled all offices with their followers, and plotted to establish their rule permanently. They installed in the Acropolis a Spartan harmost and garrison, disarmed the citizens, except some three thousand of their own adherents, and began against wealthy democrats and metics a career of bloody proscription and greedy confiscation. The victims were counted by hundreds — perhaps by thousands. Larger numbers fled, and, despite the orders of Sparta, were sheltered by Thebes. The more conservative faction of the Thirty tried to check the wholesale butchery, only to become themselves the victims of the extremists. Theramenes was seized and sent to immediate execution. He seems to have expected his

fall to drag down his opponents, and as he drank the hemlock he poured out the dregs with the mocking salutation, "Here's to the gentle Critias." But Critias had crushed all opposition within the city, and he relied upon Lysander to protect him from without.

Finally, however, in 403 B.C., after something over a year of this reign of terror, one of the democratic exiles, *Thrasybulus*, with a band of companions from Thebes, seized the Peiraeus. The men of the Port rose to his support. The Lacedaemonian garrison and the forces of the Thirty were defeated; a quarrel between Lysander and the Spartan king prevented serious Spartan interference, and the old democracy was restored. Thrasybulus, one of the most liberal of Greek statesmen, urged that the metics and sailors of the Peiraeus, who had fought the Thirty, should be incorporated in the State. Unfortunately, this just measure, which would have compensated Athens partly for her terrible losses in the Peloponnesian War, was not adopted; but in other respects the restored democracy showed itself generous and self-controlled. Critias had fallen in battle. A few of the most guilty of the Thirty were punished, but all their adherents were admitted to a general amnesty — the first sweeping measure of the kind in history. The good faith and moderation of the democracy contrasted so favorably with the cutthroat rule of the two recent experiments at oligarchy that Athens was undisturbed in future by internal revolution.

221. Spartan Decay. — In Sparta itself a social revolution had been going on. Spartan officials abroad had yielded to corruption before, but now wealth and luxury replaced the old simplicity at home. Moreover, the number of full citizens was rapidly decreasing. Through the accumulation of property in the hands of a few men, it came to pass that many Spartans lost the power to support themselves at the public mess (§ 113), and so ceased to enjoy political rights. The nine or ten thousand citizens of 700 B.C. shrank to two thousand. The resulting class of "Inferiors" added by their discontent to the

standing menace of the Helots, and a successful rising seems to have been averted only by an accident.[1] The Spartan Empire even at home rested on a volcano.

B. Wars and Leagues to the Peace of Antalcidas.

222. The March of the Ten Thousand; Renewal of War with Persia. — In 401 B.C. the weakness of the Persian Empire was made strikingly manifest. *Cyrus the Younger*, brother of the king Artaxerxes, endeavored to seize the Persian throne. As satrap in Asia Minor he had given Sparta decisive help against Athens, and now Sparta gave some countenance to his expedition. Through her aid, Cyrus enlisted ten thousand Greeks in his army. He penetrated to the heart of the empire, but in the battle of *Cunaxa*, near Babylon, he was killed and his Asiatic troops routed; the Ten Thousand, however, proved unconquerable by the Persian host of half a million, but the Greek leaders were entrapped afterward by treachery and murdered; still, under the inspiration of *Xenophon* the Athenian (whose *Anabasis* is our history of these events), the Ten Thousand chose new generals and made good a remarkable retreat to the coast.

Until this time the Greeks had waged their contests with Persia only along the *coasts* of Asia; after this, the dream of conquering and Hellenizing the continent became a fixed idea in the Greek mind, and at length Alexander made it fact. First, however, the attempt was made by *Agesilaus*, king of Sparta. Sparta had incurred the wrath of Persia by favoring Cyrus, and Agesilaus burned with a noble ambition to free and protect the Asiatic Greeks, who a little before had been abandoned to Persia by his country. He invaded Asia Minor with a large army, and seemed in full career of conquest, when he was checked by the progress of events in Hellas.

223. A Greek League against Sparta, 395 B.C. — No sooner was Sparta engaged with Persia than enemies rose against her

[1] Special topic: Cinadon's conspiracy.

in Greece itself. Thebes, Corinth, Athens, and Argos leagued in a struggle called the *Corinthian War*. Persia supplied the allies with funds, and the two wars became intermingled. The contest turned upon two remarkable battles: in the first, an Athenian general in Persian service shattered the maritime empire of Sparta; and in the second, Athens for the first time shook Spartan supremacy on land.

224. Conon at Cnidus. — Conon was the ablest of the Athenian generals in the latter period of the Peloponnesian War. At Aegospotami he was the only one who had kept his squadron in fighting order, and after all was lost he had escaped to Rhodes and entered Persian service. Now, in 391 B.C., in command of a Phoenician fleet, at the battle of Cnidus he completely destroyed the Spartan naval power. Spartan authority in the Aegean fell at once. Conon sailed from island to island, expelling the Spartan harmosts and garrisons, and restoring the democracies; and in the next year he anchored in the Peiraeus and rebuilt the Long Walls. These events raised Athens again to the place of one of the great powers, and threw Sparta back into her old position as head of the powerful Peloponnesian league only.

225. Iphicrates, and the Change in Warfare. — Shortly after, even this position was threatened. The Athenian Iphicrates introduced the first striking innovation in land warfare since the hoplite overcame the chariot and the knights, five hundred years before. His work was to increase the efficiency of light-armed mercenaries so as to make them a match for the citizen hoplites. This he did by making their pikes and swords heavier and longer (to do which he lightened even their former defensive armor), and by training them to a nimble dexterity that the hoplite could not imitate. The result was seen in 390 B.C., when, with these *peltasts*, Iphicrates cut to pieces a Spartan battalion of seven hundred hoplites near Corinth (Xenophon's *Hellenica*, iv. 5). The leadership of

Sparta had rested upon her acknowledged superiority in the field, and now this supremacy was challenged.

226. Peace of Antalcidas, 387 B.C.— Accordingly, Sparta sought peace with Persia. The two powers invited all the Greek states to send deputies to Sardis, where the Persian king dictated the terms. The document read: —

"King Artaxerxes deems it just that the *cities in Asia, with the islands of Clazomenae and Cyprus*, should belong to himself; the rest of the Hellenic cities, both great and small, he will leave independent, save Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which three are to belong to Athens as of yore. Should any of the parties not accept this peace, I, Artaxerxes, together with those who share my views [the Spartans], will war against the offenders by land and sea." — XENOPHON, *Hellenica*, v. 1.

These terms were taken by Sparta to dissolve all the other leagues (like the Boeotian, of which Thebes was the head), but not to affect the control of Sparta over her subject towns in Laconia, nor to weaken the Peloponnesian confederacy. Thus Persia and Sparta again conspired to betray the Greeks. Persia would help Sparta keep the European Greek states divided and weak, as they were before the Persian War; and Sparta would help Persia recover her old authority over the Asiatic Greeks. By this crowning iniquity the tottering Spartan supremacy was bolstered up a few years longer.

Of course the shame of betraying the Asiatic Greeks must be shared by the enemies of Sparta who had used Persian aid against her; but the policy had been first introduced by Sparta in seeking Persian assistance in 412 against Athens (§ 215, *b*), and so far no other Greek state had offered to surrender Hellenic cities to barbarians as the price of such aid.

C. From the Betrayal of Hellas to Leuctra.

227. High-handed Aggressions. — The power so infamously recovered by Sparta was used with the same brutal cunning as in the past, and with even more arrogant contempt for justice. The Spartan government cynically announced the maxim that anything was right which was expedient, and avowed a

policy of keeping down all beginnings of greatness in Greece. Arcadia had shown signs of growing strength, but the leading city, Mantinea, was now broken up and the inhabitants dispersed in villages; by treachery in time of peace a Spartan force seized the citadel of Thebes; and, a little later, when the Athenian naval power began to revive, a like treacherous, though unsuccessful, attempt was made upon the Peiraeus.

228. The Ruin of the Chalcidic Confederacy. — These outrages were all to recoil finally upon the head of the offenders; but first there occurred an event, deplorable for Greece. After the overthrow of the Athenian power on the north coast of the Aegean in the Peloponnesian War, *Olynthus*, a leading Greek city of the district, had built up a promising Hellenic confederacy, to check the Thracian and Macedonian barbarians. From the little that we know of this league, it seems probable that a definite advance in federal government was made here. The cities retained their equality and separate independence in local matters; but they were merged in a large state with new bonds of union never before seen in Greek leagues. *The citizens of any city could live and hold land and intermarry in any other city of the confederacy; and no one city had superior rights or privileges, as Athens had had in the Delian League.*

The forty states so united made already a formidable power, and if left to grow, this union might have saved Hellas from Macedonian conquest, or even have brought all Hellas into union. Athens and Thebes had declined to join, however, and now Sparta destroyed the confederacy, leaving the ground cleared for the subsequent growth of Macedon.[1]

229. The Revolt of Thebes, and the New Athenian Confederacy. — The attack upon Spartan rule came from Thebes and Athens, who had been so wantonly injured. The Spartan garrison at

[1] For the world this was no doubt well, in view of Alexander's conquests later; but from a Greek point of view the ruin of the confederacy was most unhappy. Advanced students may consult Grote, X. 67–94, and Freeman's *Federal Government*, I. 190–197, on the nature of this federal state.

Thebes supported an oligarchic Theban government whose terrorism drove crowds of citizens into exile. Athens received them, as Thebes had sheltered Athenian fugitives in the time of the Thirty Tyrants; and from Athens their leader *Pelopidas* struck the return blow.[1] Thebes was surprised and seized by the exiles, and the government passed into the hands of the democrats.

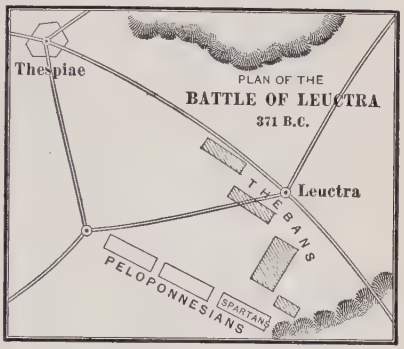
An indecisive war with Sparta followed for some years. During this conflict, in 377–376 B.C., the cities of the Aegean began to seek protection against Sparta in a new league with Athens. This confederacy had a definite written constitution.[2] Each state was to send a deputy to a congress at Athens. Athens herself was to have no representative in the congress, but she was to have a veto upon its decisions. Thus the confederacy consisted of two parts, — Athens *and* the allies, neither of which could coerce the other. The old arrangement of contributions of money and ships was adopted under new names. The league came to count seventy communities; but it was designed only to check Sparta, and it faded away when Sparta became too weak to be feared.

230. Leuctra; the Overthrow of Sparta. — In 371 B.C. the contending parties, wearied with war, concluded peace. But when the deputies were about to sign for their cities, Epaminondas, the Theban representative, demanded the right to sign for all Boeotia, as Sparta did for all Laconia. Sparta, therefore, excluded Thebes from the peace and turned to crush her, now left alone. A powerful army at once invaded Boeotia, — and met with an overwhelming defeat by a smaller Theban force at *Leuctra*.

This amazing result was due to the military genius of *Epaminondas*. Hitherto the Greeks had fought in extended lines, from eight to twelve men deep. Against such a Spartan line Epaminondas adopted a new arrangement that marks a step in

[1] Special reports: Pelopidas' expedition from Athens; the Social War.
[2] Gilbert, 435 ff., or Holm, III. 85–87.

warfare. He massed his best troops in a solid column, fifty deep, on the left, opposite the Spartan wing in the Peloponnesian army. His other troops were spread out as thin as possible. The solid phalanx was set in motion first; then the thinner center and right wing advanced more slowly, so as to engage the attention of the enemy opposite, but not to come into action until the battle should have been won by the massed column. In short, Epaminondas simply adopted a device whereby he could safely mass a great part of his force against one part of his enemy's line.[1] The weight of the Theban charge crushed through and trampled under the Spartan force. Four hundred of the seven hundred Spartans, with their king and with a thousand Perioeci, went down in ten minutes. The field was won, and Sparta was a second-rate power. The mere loss was a fatal enough blow, now that Spartan citizenship was so reduced, — the number of full citizens after this battle did not exceed fifteen hundred, — but the effect upon the military prestige of Sparta was more deadly. None the less, the Spartan character never showed to better advantage. Sparta was always greater in defeat than in victory. Her virtue was that of endurance rather than of action; and she met her fate with heroic courage. The news of the overthrow did not interfere with a festival that was going on, and only the relatives of the *survivors* of the battle appeared in mourning.



[1] The Spartans seem to have been unable to modify their military system so as to cope with the evident peril from these new tactics, which were to win again with almost equal ease at Mantinea (§ 231). After this, Sparta played little part in Greece for a hundred and fifty years, until the time of Cleomenes (§ 266).

II. THEBAN SUPREMACY.

231. The Interest in the Brief Supremacy of Thebes centers in two facts—the personality of Epaminondas and the connection with young Philip of Macedon.

Epaminondas[1] marks one of the fair heights to which human nature ascends. With a more lovable and more justly balanced character, he sought to do for Thebes what Pericles had done for Athens; and while he lived, success seemed possible. Sparta was humiliated and Laconia ravaged. Messenia was liberated on one side, with its new capital, Messene, and Arcadia was organized into a federal union on another side — "to surround Sparta with a perpetual blockade." In the latter district, Mantinea was restored, and Epaminondas united forty scattered villages into a new city, *Megalopolis* (the Great City). Except for aid from Athens, Sparta probably would have been totally destroyed. Epaminondas then turned upon Athens, built fleets, swept the Athenian navy from the seas, and made Euboea a Theban possession. Meantime Pelopidas had been active in the north. Both Thessaly and Macedonia were brought under Theban influence, and the young *Philip*, prince of Macedon, spent some years in Thebes as a hostage, learning lessons in war and in politics that were to result in the conquest of Greece and of Asia.

Thus Thebes had replaced Sparta as head of Greece, and a humiliating embassy to the Persian court obtained express recognition of that fact from the Great King. This leadership, however, rested solely on the supreme genius of one statesman, and vanished instantly at his death. In 362 B.C., for the fourth time Epaminondas marched against Sparta, and at *Mantinea* won another great victory, by tactics like those of Leuctra. This was the greatest land battle ever fought between Hellenes, and nearly all the states of Greece took part on one side or the other. The victory of Thebes ought to have made her suprem-

[1] Special report upon his character and work.

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acy lasting; but Epaminondas himself fell on the field, and his city sank at once to a slow and narrow policy.

No state was left in Greece to assume leadership. Even within the Peloponnesus, Arcadians and Messenians proved incapable of steady government; and a turbulent anarchy, in place of the stern Spartan rule, seemed the only fruit of the brief glory of the great Theban.

III. THE RISE OF MACEDON.

232. Political Demoralization in Hellas: Mutual Stalemate. — The failure of the Greek cities to federate or consolidate made it certain that sooner or later they must fall to some outside power. Sparta and Thebes (with Persian aid) had been able to prevent Athenian leadership; Thebes and Athens had overthrown Sparta; Sparta and Athens had still been able to stalemate Thebes. Each state had been discredited and exhausted in turn; and each, in varying degree, had sinned by calling in Persia or by recognizing her as arbiter in Hellenic politics. No one of the three had thought of empire primarily as involving duties to the subjects. The Greeks had not degenerated,[1] as is sometimes taught; but the imperfections of their political system had become apparent, and it was to be replaced by something stronger.

233. Macedon: its People and King. — The Macedonians were part of the "outer rim of the Greek race." They were still barbaric, and perhaps were mixed somewhat with non-Hellenic elements. They had remained in the tribal stage until just before this time, when a series of able kings had consolidated them into a real nation. The change was so recent that Alexander a little later could say, in his one reproachful speech to his army: —

"My father, Philip, found you a roving people, without fixed habitations and without resources, most of you clad in the skins of animals,

[1] On the virtue of the Greeks in the third century, see Holm, III. 178 ff. and 194–199.

pasturing a few sheep among the mountains, and, to defend these, waging a luckless warfare with the Illyrians, the Triballans, and the Thracians on your borders. But he gave you the soldier's cloak to replace the skins and led you down from the mountains into the plain, making you a worthy match in war against the barbarians on your frontier, so that you no longer trusted to the security of your strongholds so much as to your own personal valor for safety. He made you to dwell in cities and provided you with wholesome laws and institutions. Over those same barbarians, who before had plundered you and carried off as booty both yourselves and your substance, he made you, instead of slaves and underlings, to be masters and lords." — Arrian, vii. 9.

Philip II. — From a gold medallion struck by Alexander.

This *Philip II* is one of the most remarkable men in history.[1] He was ambitious, crafty, sagacious, persistent, unscrupulous, an unfailing judge of character, and a marvelous organizer. He set himself to make his people true Greeks by making them the leaders of Greece. He was determined to secure that primacy for which Athens, Sparta, and Thebes had all vainly striven. The struggle revealed the advantages of a consolidated national monarchy as against divided, mutually jealous city states, and of a single powerful ruler, able to keep his own council and to pursue one policy unwaveringly, as against public discussions, changing votes, and conflicting plans, in city assemblies. The result was foregone.

[1] Read Wheeler's characterization, *Alexander the Great*, 5–7.

234. Progress of the Conflict. — At Philip's accession Macedon was still a poor country without a coast line. The first need was an outlet on the sea. Philip found one by conquering the Chalcidic peninsula. Though Sparta had ruined the Athenian power there, and afterward the Olynthian, yet both Athens and Olynthus kept important possessions in that region, and, at this stage, by combining they might still have checked Macedon. By playing them off against each other, Philip won; and his energy developed the gold mines of the district until they furnished him a yearly revenue of a thousand talents — as large as that of Athens at her greatest power. Then he turned to Greece itself, and here, too, he used an adroit mingling of cunning, bribery, and force. In all Greek states, among the pretended patriot statesmen, there were secret emis-

saries in his pay. He set city against city; and the constant tendency to quarrels among the Greeks played into his hands.

The only man who saw clearly the designs of Philip, and who at the same time constantly opposed them, was *Demosthenes* the Athenian, the greatest orator of Greece. To check Macedonia became the one passionate aim of his life; and the last glow of Greek political independence flames up in his appeals to Athens to champion Hellas against Macedon as she had once done against Persia, irrespective of all selfish ends: —

"Suppose that you have one of the gods as surety that Philip will leave *you* untouched, in the name of all the gods, it is a shame for you in ignorant stupidity to sacrifice the rest of Hellas!"

The noble orations by which he sought to move the Athenian assembly to action against Philip (*the Philippics*), are still unrivaled in that form of literature,[1] but their practical effect was to secure only a halting policy.

235. The Macedonian Army. — Meantime, Philip built up an army as superior to the four-months citizen armies of Hellas as his diplomacy was superior to that of a popular assembly. His wealth enabled him to keep ready for action a disciplined force of veterans. He enlarged the Theban phalanx, and improved it, so that the ranks presented five rows of bristling spears projecting beyond the front soldier.[2] The flanks were protected by light-armed troops modeled after the peltasts of Iphicrates; and the Macedonian nobles furnished the finest of cavalry. At the same time a field "artillery" first appears, able to throw darts and great stones three hundred yards. Such a mixture of troops, and on a permanent footing, was altogether novel. Philip was organizing the engine with which his son was to conquer the world.

236. Chaeronea and the Congress of Corinth. — In 338 B.C. Philip threw off the mask and invaded Greece. Athens and

[1] Special report: Demosthenes.

[2] Special report: the Macedonian phalanx. A good account is found in Curteis' *Rise of the Macedonian Empire*, 35–37.

Thebes combined against him — to be hopelessly crushed at Chaeronea. Then a congress of Greek states at Corinth recognized Macedonia as the head of Greece. A formal constitution[1] provided that the separate states should retain their local self-government without payment of tribute, but that foreign matters, including war and peace, should be committed to Philip. Philip was also declared general-in-chief of the armies of Greece for a war against Persia.

237. The History of Hellas merged in a History of Hellenism. — Thus Philip posed, wisely, not as the vanquisher, but as the champion of Greece against the great foe of all Hellenes. He showed a patient magnanimity, too, toward fickle Greek states, and in particular he strove to reconcile Athens. Indeed, Philip needed, not reluctant subjects, but willing followers.

The conquest was disguised under the color of national sympathies, but none the less the history of Hellas had closed. Greece thereafter, until well into the nineteenth century, was only a province of this or that foreign power. We pass to the story of a wider Hellenism and the creation of a new Graeco-Oriental world.

For this, Philip had prepared by his two great achievements. He had united Greece under Macedonian supremacy by means of a national undertaking, and he had previously created the Macedonian political and military instruments with which his son was to carry that undertaking to successful issue. For these things Philip II ranks among the great positive forces in history.

For Further Reading. — Sources: Xenophon's *Hellenica* and Demosthenes' *Orations*. Modern authorities: Wheeler's *Alexander*, 14–18 and 64–80 (the best brief account); Holm, III.; Curtius; Curteis' *Rise of the Macedonian Empire;* Sanky's *Spartan and Theban Supremacies.*

Exercise. — Review the period 405–338 B.C. by "catchwords" (see exercise at close of § 176).

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[1] Holm, III. 283 ff.

PART III.

THE GRAECO-ORIENTAL WORLD.[1]

With Alexander the stage of Greek influence spreads across the world, and Greece becomes only a small item in the heritage of the Greeks. — MAHAFFY.

The seed-ground of European civilization is neither Greece nor the Orient, but a world joined of the two. — BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER.

CHAPTER I.

THE MINGLING OF EAST AND WEST.

I. THE CONQUESTS OF ALEXANDER.

238. Alexander's Youth and Training. — Two great men engaged in the same work could hardly differ more widely than Philip of Macedon and his greater son, Alexander. The contrast was due no doubt to Alexander's mother, Olympias, a half-barbaric Epirot princess of intense passions and generous enthusiasms, which mounted sometimes into frenzied religious ecstasies. Says Benjamin Ide Wheeler (*Alexander the Great*, 5): —

"While it was from his father that Alexander inherited his sagacious insight into men and things, and his brilliant capacity for timely and determined action, it was to his mother that he undoubtedly owed that passionate warmth of nature which betrayed itself not only in the furious outbursts of temper occasionally characteristic of him, but quite as much in a romantic fervor of attachment and love for friends, a delicate tenderness of sympathy for the weak, and a princely largeness and generosity of soul toward all, that made him so deeply beloved of men and so enthusiastically followed."

[1] Cf. § 3 and § 5.

Much, too, in Alexander's character was due to careful training. As a boy, he had been fearless and self-willed, with fervent affections and with a restless eagerness for action; but his earliest tutors taught him to curb his impulses, to endure hardship, and to despise ease and luxury. His later education had been directed by Aristotle (§ 207). The young prince had shown an impatient ambition to master all departments of knowledge, and he was devoted to Homer, whose poems he knew by heart. Homer's Achilles he claimed as an ancestor and took for his ideal.[1]

ALEXANDER. ALEXANDER IN A LION-HUNT.

The two sides of a gold medallion of Tarsus.

239. Accession: Restoration of Order. — Philip was assassinated two years after Chaeronea, when just ready to begin the invasion of Asia. Alexander was a stripling of twenty years. He was to prove a rare military genius; indeed, he never refused an engagement and never lost a battle; and also, on occasion, he could be shrewd and adroit in diplomacy. But at this time he was known only as an impetuous youth; and it was natural enough to expect a rash boy to fail to hold together the empire that had been built up by the force and fraud of the most astute ruler of the time. Revolt and disorder broke out everywhere;

[1] Special report: anecdotes from Plutarch regarding Alexander's boyhood.

but the young king showed himself at once both statesman and general. With marvelous rapidity he struck crushing blows on this side and on that. A hurried expedition conciliated Greece; the savage and semi-dependent tribes of the north were quieted by a rapid march beyond the Danube; then, turning on Illyria, Alexander forced the mountain passes and overran the country; and while it was believed that he was killed or defeated among the barbarians, he suddenly appeared a second time in rebellious Greece, falling with swift and terrible vengeance upon Thebes, the center of revolt. The city was taken by storm and leveled to the ground, except for the house of Pindar (§ 141); and the thirty thousand surviving inhabitants were sold as slaves. The other states were terrified into abject submission, and were treated generously. A congress at Corinth renewed the compact formerly made with Philip; and, like his father, Alexander now turned, as the champion of Hellas, to the attack upon Persia. With the cool and practical Philip, this attitude may perhaps have been only a politician's device to secure empire in Hellas. With the enthusiastic Alexander, in the full flush of power, it became at once an all-controlling ideal.

HEAD OF ALEXANDER RONDANINI.

Probably a copy of the gold-ivory portrait statue by the sculptor Leochares, just after the battle of Chaeronea. (Now at Munich.)

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240. The Persian Campaigns.—In the spring of 334 B.C. Alexander crossed the Hellespont with thirty-five thousand disciplined troops. The number was quite enough to scatter any Oriental army, and as large as any general could handle in long and rapid marches in a hostile country; but it contrasts strangely with the huge hordes Xerxes had led against Greece a century and a half before.

The path of march and the immense distances traversed can be best traced by the map. The conquest of the empire occupied five years, and the story falls into three distinct chapters, each marked by a world-famous battle.

a. Asia Minor: Battle of the Granicus.—The Persian satraps of Asia Minor met the invaders at the Granicus, a small stream in the Troad. With the personal rashness that was the one blot upon his supreme military skill, Alexander led the Macedonian charge through the river and up the steep bank into the midst of the Persian cavalry, where he barely escaped death. The Persian nobles fought, as always, with gallant self-devotion, but were utterly routed. Then the Greek mercenaries in Persian pay were surrounded and cut down to a man. No quarter was to be given Hellenes fighting as traitors to the cause of Hellas. The victory cost Alexander only one hundred and twenty men, and it made him master of all Asia Minor. He then set up democracies in the Greek cities,—requiring them, however, to grant amnesties to other factions,—and he spent some months in receiving the submission and organizing the government of the various provinces.

b. The Mediterranean Coast: Battle of Issus.—To strike at the heart of the empire at once would have been to leave in the rear a large Persian fleet which might encourage revolt in Greece. Alexander wisely determined to secure the entire coast before marching into the interior. Turning south, just after crossing the mountains that separate Asia Minor from Syria, at Issus he defeated a Persian host of six hundred thousand men, led by King Darius in person. The cramped space between the mountains and the sea made the very numbers of the Persians

an embarrassment to themselves, and they soon became a huddled mob of fugitives. Alexander now assumed the title of King of Persia. The sieges of Tyre (§ 59) and Gaza detained him a year, but Egypt welcomed him as a deliverer, and by the close of 332 B.C. all the sea power of the world was his. While in Egypt he showed his constructive genius by founding *Alexandria* at one of the mouths of the Nile — a city destined to be the commercial and intellectual capital of the world for centuries, where before there had been a mere haunt of pirates.

c. The Tigris-Euphrates District: Battle of Arbella. — Rejecting contemptuously a proposed division of the empire with Darius, Alexander resumed his march. Following the ancient routes from Egypt to Assyria (§ 12), he met Darius at Arbella, near ancient Nineveh. The Persians are said to have numbered a million men. Alexander purposely allowed them choice of time and place, and by a third decisive victory proved the hopelessness of resistance in the field. Darius never gathered another army. The capitals of the empire — Babylon, Susa, Ecbatana, Persepolis — surrendered, with enormous treasure in gold and silver, and the Persian Empire had fallen (331 B.C.)

241. Campaigns in the Far East. — The next six years went, however, to much more desperate warfare in the eastern mountain regions, and in the Punjab. Alexander carried his arms almost twice as far east from Babylon as Babylon was from Macedonia. He traversed great deserts, subdued the warlike and princely barons of Bactria and Sogdiana up to the steppes of the wild Tartar tribes beyond the Oxus, twice forced the passes of the Hindukush (a feat almost unparalleled), subdued the valiant mountaineers of what is now Afghanistan, and led his army into the fertile and populous plains of northern India. He crossed the Indus, won realms beyond the ancient Persian province of the Punjab, and planned still more distant empires; but on the banks of the Hyphasis his faithful Macedonians refused to be led farther to waste away in inhuman perils,

and the chagrined conqueror was compelled to return to Babylon — to die there of a fever two years later (323 B.C.) in the midst of preparations to extend his conquests both east and west.[1] The last years, however, were given mainly to organizing the empire; and to the results of this constructive work we will now turn.

II. THE RESULTS OF ALEXANDER'S WORK.

242. Alexander's Expanding Views: "Merging of East and West." — Alexander began his conquest to avenge the West upon the East; but as he came to see the excellent and noble qualities in Oriental life also, he rose rapidly with the years to a broader vision. He aimed no longer to hold a world-empire in subjection by the force of a small conquering tribe, but to amalgamate Persian and Greek into one people on terms of equality and coöperation; he wished to marry the East and the West — "to bring them together into a composite civilization, to which each should contribute its better elements."

Persian youth were trained by thousands in Macedonian fashion to replace the veterans of Alexander's army; Persian nobles were welcomed at court and given high preferment; and in general the government of Asia was entrusted largely to Asiatics, on a system similar to that of Darius the Great (§§ 75–77). Alexander himself adopted Persian manners and customs, and married Persian wives, and he bribed and coaxed his officers and soldiers to do the like. This was all part of a deliberate design to encourage the fusion of the two peoples. The Macedonians jealously protested, and even rebelled, but were quickly reduced to obedience; and there is no question as to the statesmanlike wisdom of Alexander's plan.

"The dream of his youth melted away, but a new vision in larger perspective arose with ever-strengthening outlines in its place. The champion of the West against the East faded in mist, and the form of a world-monarch, standing above the various worlds of men and belonging to

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[1] Topic: anecdotes of Alexander's later years; the change in his character. See Wheeler's *Alexander* for an ardent defense, and note pp. 227–229 for an excellent description.

none, but molding them all into one, emerged in its stead." — WHEELER, *Alexander the Great*, 376.[1]

243. Hellenism the Active Element: the Many Alexandrias. — At the same time Alexander saw that to fulfill this mission he must throw open the East to Greek ideas. The races might mingle their blood; the Greek might learn from the Orient, and in the end be absorbed by it; but the thought and art of little Hellas must leaven with its active energy the vast passive mass of the East.

ALEXANDER AS APOLLO. — Now in the Capitoline Museum.

A vital measure, adopted consciously to this end, was the foundation of chains of cities to bind together these conquests and to become the homes of Hellenic influence. Alexander himself built seventy of these towns (usually called from his name, like the first Alexandria in Egypt). Their walls sprang up under the pick and spade of the soldiery along the lines of march — sometimes mere garrison towns on distant frontiers, but oftener mighty emporiums at the intersection of great lines of trade. There was an Alexandria on the Jaxartes, on the Indus, on the Euphrates, as well as on the Nile. One great city, we are told, walls and houses, was completed in twenty

[1] Benjamin Ide Wheeler, throughout his brilliant volume, gives special emphasis to this view of Alexander's mission.

days. The sites were chosen wisely, and many remain great capitals to this day, like Herat and Kandahar (Iskandar, the Oriental form of the name Alexander).

This building of Greek cities was continued by Alexander's successors.[1] Once more, and on a vaster scale than ever before, the Greek genius for colonization found vent. Each of these cities from the first had a Greek nucleus. Usually this consisted only of worn-out veterans left behind as a garrison; but enterprising youth emigrating from old Hellas, almost to its depopulation, continued to reënforce the Greek influence. The native village people roundabout were gathered in to make the bulk of the inhabitants, and these also soon took on Greek character: from scattered, ignorant rustics, they became artisans and merchants, devotedly attached to Greek rule and zealous missionaries of Greek culture. The cities "were all built on a large and comfortable model; they were well paved; they had ample provision for lighting by night, and a good water supply; they had police arrangements, and good thoroughfares." They received extensive privileges and enjoyed a large amount of self-government, even in the despotic East: they met in their own assemblies, managed their own courts, and collected their own taxes. They made the backbone of Hellenism throughout the world for centuries, and were truly Greek in character. Greek was the ordinary speech of their streets; Greek architecture built their temples and houses; Greek sculpture adorned them; they celebrated Greek games and festivals; and, no longer in little Hellas alone, but over the whole East, in Greek theaters, vast audiences were educated by the plays of Euripides.

The unity of this widespread civilization cannot be insisted upon too strongly. Political unity, it is true, was soon lost; but the oneness of culture endured for centuries, and maintained its character even after Roman conquest. Over all that vast area there was for all cultivated men a single common language, a common literature, a common mode of

[1] See Grote, ch. xciv., for a discussion of the number of such foundations.

thought. The civilization that had been developed by one small people became now the heritage of a great world.

244. Reaction upon Hellas and upon Hellenic Civilization. — Hellas itself lost importance relatively, and even absolutely. It was drained of its intellect and enterprise, which wandered to the east to win fortune and distinction. And, of course, the victorious Hellenic civilization was modified by its victory, both in the old and in the new home. Sympathies were broadened. The barrier between Greek and barbarian faded away. Without some compromise with Orientalism, Greek ideas would hardly have won their way so rapidly.[1] In particular, we may note two forms of the reaction upon the older Greek culture: the economic and the scientific.

a. Economic. — The wealth of the world, and especially of Europe, was enormously augmented. The vast treasure hoards of Oriental monarchs were thrown again into circulation, and large sums were brought back to Europe by returned mercenaries and adventurers. Trade was stimulated; a higher standard of living arose for the many; manifold new comforts and enjoyments adorned and enriched life. In its economic aspects, the conquest had results not unlike those of the discovery of Mexico and Peru upon medieval Europe. Somewhat later, perhaps as a result of this increase of wealth, there came other and unfortunate changes. Extremes of wealth and poverty appeared side by side, as in our modern society; the great cities had their hungry, sullen, dangerous mobs; and socialistic agitation began on a large scale. These last phenomena, however, concerned only the last days of the Hellenic world before its absorption by Rome.

b. Scientific. — A new era of scientific progress began. Alexander himself always manifested the zeal of an explorer, and one of the most important scientific expeditions ever sent out by any government is due to him while in India. When he first touched the Indus, he thought it the upper course of the Nile; but he built a great fleet of two thousand vessels, sailed down the river to the Indian Ocean, and then dispatched

[1] The change suggests to the mind the similar change that took place when a Jewish religion widened to the faith of the Christian world. And, indeed, the conquests of Alexander and the spread of a common culture were a necessary prerequisite for the later spread of Christianity over these regions (§ 506).

his friend Nearchus to explore that sea and to find a water route to the mouth of the Euphrates. After a voyage of many months, Nearchus reached Babylon, thus reopening an ancient route of commerce between Chaldea and India. He had mapped the coast line, made frequent landings, and collected a mass of observations upon natural phenomena and a multitude of strange plants and animals.

Like collections were made by Alexander at other times, to be sent to his old instructor Aristotle, who embodied the results of his study upon them in a *Natural History* of fifty volumes. The Greek intellect, indeed, attracted by the marvels of a new world opened before it, turned from metaphysics and verbal discussions to scientific observation and to the classification of the facts of the universe. Again the result was not unlike that of the discovery of America upon the intellect of medieval Europe. This impulse was intensified by the discovery of the long series of astronomical observations of the Babylonians (§ 45) and of the historical records and traditions of the Orientals, reaching back to an antiquity of which the Greeks had not dreamed. The active Greek mind, seizing upon all this confused wealth of material, began to compare and put in order, and to erect, with principles of scientific criticism, a great system of knowledge about man and nature.

245. Summary. — Thus the new product was not simply either of the old factors. Alexander's victories are not merely events in military history. They make an epoch in the onward march of humanity. Alexander enlarged the map of the world again and made these vaster spaces the home of a higher culture. He grafted the new West upon the old East, and from this graft sprang the plant of our later civilization.

Alexander died at thirty-two. Had he lived to seventy, it is hard to say what he might not have done in providing for lasting political union, and perhaps even in bringing India and China into the current of our civilization. His lamentably early death brought about the political disruption of his empire, and has left the world in two halves from that day to this.

"No single personality, excepting the carpenter's son of Nazareth, has done so much to make the world we live in what it is as Alexander of Macedon. He leveled the terrace upon which European history built. Whatever lay within the range of his conquests contributed its part to

form that Mediterranean civilization, which under Rome's administration became the basis of European life. What lay beyond was as if on another planet." — WHEELER, *Alexander the Great.*

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING. — There is no contemporary historian of Alexander. Arrian (second century) and Plutarch are the earliest authorities of note, and they made use of histories, now lost, by Alexander's generals (some good extracts are found in Fling's *Studies*, No. 5). Modern scholars have availed themselves of great numbers of recently discovered inscriptions.

Modern writers: The best treatment is Wheeler's *Alexander the Great*, so freely quoted in these pages. Advanced students may consult also Holm, III. chs. xix.–xxix.; Curteis' *Rise of the Macedonian Empire;* Grote, chs. xci.–xciv.; Thirwall's *History of Greece;* Hogarth's *Philip and Alexander;* Dodge's *Alexander;* and Mahaffy's *Story of Alexander's Empire*, chs. i.–iv. Freeman's *Alexander* (Historical Essays, 2d series) is an excellent discussion, and the opening pages give a critical bibliography for advanced students.

TOPICS. — See suggestions in footnotes.

For advanced work, Fling's *Studies* make some excellent suggestions: *i.e.* (1) Let a student compare the Alexander of Arrian with the Alexander of Plutarch, and both of these with some modern writer's Alexander. This exercise may be subdivided into periods or campaigns, and assigned to several students. (2) List the authorities mentioned by Plutarch in his Alexander, and ascertain the probable value of each.

CHAPTER II.

THE GRAECO-ORIENTAL WORLD — TO THE ROMAN CONQUEST.

I. THE POLITICAL STORY.

246. Wars of the Succession (323–280 B.C.). — For nearly a half a century after Alexander's death the political history of the civilized world was a horrible welter of war, intrigue, and assassination, while his generals strove with one another for empire. For a time it seemed possible that some able leader might prove strong enough to hold together all Alexander's conquests. *Antigonus* came nearest such success; but four other great generals and satraps united against him, and after his defeat at *Ipsus* in Phrygia (301 B.C.), the contest became one merely over shifting lines of partition.

247. The Situation in the Third Century. — Finally, about 280 B.C., something like a fixed order emerged, and then followed a period of sixty years known as the *Glory of Hellenism.* The Greek world reached from the Adriatic to the Indus, and consisted of: (*a*) three great powers, the kingdoms of *Syria*, *Egypt*, and *Macedonia*; (*b*) a broken chain of smaller monarchies scattered from Media to Epirus,[1] some of them, like *Pontus* and *Armenia*, under dynasties descended from Persian princes; and (*c*) single free cities like *Cos* and *Byzantium*, or leagues of such cities, like that under the leadership of Rhodes.

Politically in many ways all the vast district bore a striking resemblance to Europe of two centuries ago: there was a like division into great and small states, ruled by dynasties all

[1] See an enumeration in Mahaffy's *Alexander's Empire*, 90–92 B.C.

related by constant intermarriage; there was a common civilization, and a recognition of common interests as against outside barbarism or as opposed to a non-Hellenic power like Rome; and there were similar mutual jealousies and conflicting policies.[1]

"I wish to point out how rich in political instruction of every kind, rich perhaps beyond every other age of classical times, the age of Polybios really is. The Greek world of that day was made up of an assemblage of states, of every degree of power and of every form of political constitution. There was nothing like it in the earlier days of Greece; there was nothing like it in the after days when Rome practically became the world. But the Greek world of those days gives us a lively image of the political state of modern Europe for some ages past."

— Freeman, *Chief Periods*, 35.

248. Invasion by the Gauls. — The chief event of general interest in this period was the great Gallic invasion of 278 B.C. It was the first formidable barbarian attack upon the Eastern world since the Scythians had been chastized by the early Persian kings (§ 72). A century before, however, hordes of these same Gauls had devastated northern Italy and sacked Rome (§ 330). Now (fortunately not until the ruinous Wars of the Succession were over) they poured into exhausted Macedonia, penetrated into Greece as far as Delphi, and, after horrible ravages there, carried havoc into Asia. For a long period every great sovereign of the Greek world turned his arms upon them, and they were finally settled as peaceful

[1] The teacher and advanced student will note the resemblance in the shifting alliances and the wars to preserve "the balance of power" or to secure trade advantages, and in the gradual development of a body of rules of warfare and diplomacy that make a beginning of International Law, and in the abandonment of plans of conquest as the natural end of war. Ptolemy III. of Egypt (§ 251) conquered almost as widely as Alexander, but he added only insignificant strips of territory to his possessions when he made peace. The likeness to modern society, too, is notable, — the refinement of the age in its excellences and its vices, the erudition, the absence of great creative literature, the increase in technique and in criticism. See Mahaffy, in particular, for these phases. Of course the resemblance must not be pushed too far. The age was vastly inferior to that of modern Europe.

colonists in a region of Asia Minor, called Galatia from their name. Perhaps we are most interested in noting that the Hellenic patriotism roused by the attack — in some measure like that in little Hellas, two hundred years earlier, by the Persian invasions (§ 176) — played a part in the national outburst of art and literature which followed and which found its themes largely in this conflict. The *Dying Gaul* and the *Apollo*

The Dying Gaul, incorrectly called The Dying Gladiator.

Belvidere, among the noblest surviving works of the period, commemorate incidents in the struggle.

249. The Decline of the Hellenic World may be dated from 220 B.C. At that time the thrones of the three larger kingdoms received youthful occupants who were all to illustrate the too common degeneracy in Oriental royal lines a few generations after great founders; and at almost the moment of this decay, there began the final attack from without upon the Hellenic East. Sixty years before, the rising Roman power had come into conflict with the Greek states in southern Italy

and in Sicily. Complications with the eastern Greek kingdoms followed. Then came the Punic wars between Rome and Carthage. The Second Punic War began in 218 B.C. and involved all the great Greek powers, one by one, in its consequences (§§ 383–389).

II. SOME SINGLE STATES IN OUTLINE.

250. Syria was the largest of the great monarchies. It comprised most of Alexander's empire in Asia, except the small states in Asia Minor. After the battle of Ipsus, it fell to *Selucus*, whose descendants (Selucidae) ruled it to the Roman conquest. They excelled all other successors of Alexander in building cities and extending Greek culture over distant regions. Selucus alone founded seventy-five cities. About 250 B.C. Indian princes reconquered the Punjab, and the Parthians arose on the northeast to cut off the frontier Bactrian provinces from the rest of the Greek world, though these isolated districts remained under independent Greek kings, as their coins show, some two centuries more. Thus Syria shrank up to the area of the ancient Assyrian Empire — the Euphrates-Tigris basin and old Syria proper — but it was still, in common opinion, the greatest world power. After the second Punic War, the Syrian monarch gave shelter to Hannibal, the defeated Carthaginian leader, and so incurred Roman hostility. His power was shattered at *Magnesia* in the year 190 B.C., but the country did not become a part of the Roman dominions until 63 B.C. During this last, and weak, period of Syrian power, occurred the heroic rebellion of the Jews under the Maccabees; the Jewish state secured independence and maintained it a hundred years, until the East fell under Roman sway (162–63 B.C.).

251. Egypt included Cyprus, and exercised a vague suzerainty over many coast towns of Syria and Asia Minor. Immediately upon Alexander's death, one of his generals, *Ptolemy*, chose Egypt for his province, and his descendants ruled it

until Cleopatra yielded to Augustus Caesar (30 B.C.), though it had become a Roman protectorate some time before. The first Ptolemies were wise, energetic sovereigns. They aimed to make Egypt the commercial emporium of the world, and to make their capital Alexandria the world's intellectual center. Ptolemy I. established a great naval power, improved harbors, and built the first great lighthouse. Ptolemy II. (*Philadelphus*) restored the old canal of Neco from the Red Sea to the Nile, and constructed roads. Ptolemy III., in war with Syria, carried his arms to Bactria, and on his return secured the circumnavigation of Arabia which Alexander had planned. The even more remarkable progress in intellectual development under these kings will be treated below. The later Ptolemies were weaklings or infamous monsters, guilty of every despicable folly and crime; but even they fostered learning.

252. Macedonia ceases to be of great interest after the death of Alexander, except from a military point of view. Naturally it was the first part of the empire of Alexander to come into hostile contact with Rome. King Philip V. joined Carthage in the second Punic War a little before the year 200 B.C. (§ 370). A series of struggles resulted, and Macedonia, with parts of Greece, became Roman in 146 A.D.

253. Rhodes and Pergamum. — Among the many smaller states, two deserve special mention. Rhodes had been a member of the second Athenian confederacy, but had become independent before the Macedonian era. Later on she headed a maritime confederacy herself, and in the third century she became the leading commercial state of the Mediterranean. Her policy was one of peace and freedom of trade. Pergamum was a small Greek kingdom in Asia Minor, which the genius and liberality of its rulers (the Attalids) raised to prominence in politics and art. When the struggles with Rome began, Pegamum allied itself with that power, and long remained a favored state under Roman protection.

III. SOCIETY.

254. General Culture. — From 280 to 150 B.C. was the period of the chief splendor of the new, widespread Hellenism. The age was a great and fruitful one. Society was refined; the position of woman improved; private fortunes abounded, and private houses possessed works of art, which, in earlier times, would have been found only in palaces or temples. For the reverse side, there was corruption in high places, hungry and threatening mobs at the base of society, and, in general, shallowness and insincerity.

Among the countless cities, all homes of culture, five great intellectual centers appeared — Athens, Alexandria, Rhodes, Pergamos, Antioch. The glory of Alexandria extended over the whole period, which is sometimes known as the Alexandrian age; the others successively held a special preëminence for a generation. Athens, however, always excelled in philosophy, and Rhodes in oratory. (Julius Caesar studied oratory at Rhodes.)

255. Literature. — Some new forms appeared in art and literature: especially, (*a*) the prose romance, a story of love and adventure, the forerunner of the modern novel; (*b*) the pastoral idyllic poetry of *Theocritus*, which was to influence Vergil and Tennyson; and (*c*) personal memoirs. These make a part of the debt we owe to this many-sided Alexandrian age. The old Attic comedy, too, became the *New Comedy* of *Menander* and his followers, devoted to satirizing gently the life and manners of the time.

In general, no doubt, the tendency in literature was toward critical scholarship rather than toward great and fresh creation. Floods of books appeared, more notable for style than matter. Erudition and technique are the key words to the age. Treatises on literary criticism abounded; the science of grammar was developed; and poets prided themselves upon writing all kinds of verse equally well. In many of its faults, as in some of its virtues, the time strikingly resembles our own.

256. Painting and Sculpture. — Painting gained prominence at the expense of calmer, more monumental sculpture — as befitted a complex society that loved great passions and exciting moments. *Zeuxis*, *Parrhasius*, and *Apelles* are the three great names connected with this art. These men seem to have carried realistic painting to great perfection. According to the

VENUS OF MELOS (MILO). — A statue now in the Louvre.

stories, Zeuxis painted a cluster of grapes so that birds pecked at them, while Apelles painted a horse so that real horses neighed at the sight.

Despite the attention given to painting, Greek sculpture produced some of its greatest work in this period. Multitudes of splendid statues were created — so abundantly, indeed, that even the names of the artists are not preserved. Among the

famous pieces that survive, besides the *Dying Gaul* and the *Apollo Belvidere* mentioned in § 248, are the *Venus of Milo* (Melos) and the *Laocoon* group.

LAOCOON. — Now in the Vatican.

257. Philosophy separates itself finally from science, and turns to theories of human conduct. It also leaves the closet for the street; it ceases to be the province of the secluded thinker, and seeks converts and proselytes. The period of the Wars of the Succession saw two new philosophical systems

born — *Epicureanism* and *Stoicism*. These were both essentially practical; they dwelt mainly upon ethics and the laws of moral action, and sought human happiness and virtue, not knowledge.

Epicurus was an Athenian citizen. He taught that every man *must* pursue happiness as an end, but he held that the most and the highest pleasure was to be obtained not by gratification of lower appetites, but by a wise choice of the refined pleasures of the intellect and of friendship. He advised temperance and virtue as means to happiness; and he himself lived an abstemious life, saying that with a crust of bread and a cup of cold water he could rival Zeus in happiness. But, under cover of his theories, some of his followers taught and practiced a grossness which Epicurus himself would have earnestly condemned. Epicureanism produced some lovable characters, but no exalted ones.[1] On the speculative side, the Epicureans denied the supernatural altogether, and held death the end of all things. Contemporary with Epicurus, *Zeno the Stoic* taught at Athens. His followers made virtue, not happiness, the end of life. If happiness were to come at all, it would come as a result, not as an end. They placed emphasis upon the dignity of human nature. The wise man, they held, should be superior to all the accidents of fortune. They believed in the gods as manifestations of one Divine Providence that ordered all things well. The noblest characters of the Greek and Roman world from this time belonged to this sect. Stoicism was inclined, however, to ignore the gentler and kindlier side of human life; and with weak and bitter natures it merged into the philosophy of the Cynics, of whom *Diogenes* with his tub and lantern is the great example.[2]

Both Stoics and Epicureans held to a wide brotherhood of man. Philosophy, like Greek civilization, became cosmopolitan. It took the place of religion as a real guide to life, and

[1] For the philosophy at its best, read Walter Pater's *Marius the Epicurean*. Its noblest speculation is found in Lucretius' poetry.

[2] Special report: the stories of Diogenes.

the great body of philosophers were the clergy of the next few centuries much more truly than were the various priesthoods of the temples.

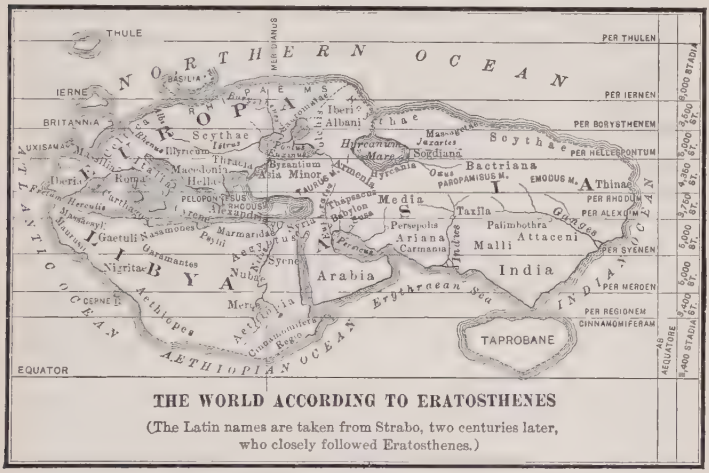
258. Libraries and Museums ("Universities"). — Two new institutions appeared, which, when combined as at Alexandria, made the forerunner of the modern university. The union of a body of teachers and learners into a corporation, with permanent endowment and legal succession, began at this time in Athens and Alexandria, and the idea has never since died out of the world. Plato had bequeathed his gardens at Athens, with other property, to his followers, on the basis of a worship of the *Muses* (since the Athenian law could not recognize property rights in a club unless it avowed some religious purpose). This was the first endowed academy. The model and name were used a little later by the first and second Ptolemies at Alexandria in their *Museum*. Here was founded a great library of over half a million volumes (manuscripts), with scribes to make careful editions and copies of them; here also were established observatories and zoölogical and botanical gardens, with collections of rare plants and animals from distant parts of the world. The librarians and other scholars who were gathered about the institution by the Ptolemies corresponded in some measure to the faculty of a university, and devoted their lives to a search for knowledge and to teaching.

"The external appearance was that of a group of buildings which served a common purpose — temple of the Muses, library, porticoes, dwellings, and a hall for meals, which were taken together. The inmates were a *community* of scholars and poets, on whom the king bestowed the honor and privilege of being allowed to work at his expense with all imaginable assistance ready to hand. It was a foundation which had something of the Institute of France, and something of the Colleges at Oxford. The managing board was composed of priests, but the most influential post was that of librarian." — Holm, IV. 307.

One enterprise, of incalculable benefit to the later world, may illustrate the zeal of the Ptolemies in regard to collecting and translating texts. Alexandria had many Jews in its population, but they were com-

ing to use the Greek language. Philadelphus, for their benefit, had the Hebrew Scriptures translated into Greek, the famous *Septuagint* translation, so called from the tradition that it was the work of *seventy* scholars.

259. Science. — As compared with all previous time, science made great strides. Medicine, surgery, botany, and mechanics first appear as real sciences. *Archimedes* of Syracuse discovered the principle of the lever, and of specific gravity, and constructed burning mirrors and new hurling engines that made effective siege artillery. *Euclid* at Alexandria produced



THE WORLD ACCORDING TO ERATOSTHENES

(The Latin names are taken from Strabo, two centuries later, who closely followed Eratosthenes.)

the geometry which, with little modification, is still taught in our schools. *Eratosthenes* (born 276 B.C.), the librarian at Alexandria, wrote a systematic treatise on geography, invented delicate astronomical instruments, and devised the present method of measuring the circumference of the earth — with results nearly accurate. A little later, *Aristarchus* taught that the earth moved round the sun; and *Hipparchus* calculated eclipses, catalogued the stars, and wrote scientific treatises on astronomy; indeed, he is regarded as the founder of mathematical astronomy and of plane and spherical trigonometry. Aristotle (§§ 207, 244 *b*) had already given all the proofs of

the sphericity of the earth that are common in our text-books now (except that of actual circumnavigation), and had asserted the probability that men could reach Asia by sailing west from Europe.

References for Further Reading. — Mahaffy's *Alexander's Empire*, *Greek Life and Thought*, and *Empire of the Ptolemies;* Freeman's *Periods of European History* (Lecture I.); Grote, XII. 274–331; Gardner's *New Chapters*, ch. xv.; Thirwall, bks. vii. and viii.; Holm, IV. Draper's *Intellectual Development of Europe* (I. 187–204) has a glowing account of the Alexandrian Museum and of Alexandrian science.

Plutarch's *Lives* (Eumenes, Demetrius, Pyrrhus) for this period give the young reader a confused picture, but they are of much greater historical value than the earlier *Lives*, and quite as full of charm.

Exercise. — Review by "catchwords."

CHAPTER III.

GREECE — FROM ALEXANDER TO ROME.

I. THE FEDERAL CHARACTER OF THE PERIOD.

260. The Political Situation. — During the ruinous Wars of the Succession, Greece was the battle ground for Egypt, Syria, and Macedonia. Those struggles left the land for a time in vassalage to Macedonia, and that country tried to secure her rule by garrisons in important places or by local tyrants subservient to her. But, almost at once, a new champion of Hellenic liberty appeared in a spot hitherto obscure. A league of small Achaean towns grew into a formidable power, gallantly freed most of historic Greece, brought much of it into its federal union on equal terms, and for a glorious half-century maintained Greek freedom successfully.

The story offers curious resemblances and contrasts to the period of Athenian leadership just two hundred years earlier. Greece could no longer hope to become one of the great physical powers; we miss the intellectual brilliancy, too, of the fifth century; but the epoch affords even more instructive political lessons — especially to Americans, interested, as we are, in federal institutions.[1]

261. Earlier and Minor Federations. — In earlier centuries the more backward and tribal parts of Greece had offered many examples of confederation, as in the cases of the Phocians, Locrians, Acarnanians, and Epirots. In city Greece, however, no such league had flourished. The ancient Boeotian confederacy sank under the rule of a predominant city; the later attempts

[1] Read Freeman, *Federal Government*, I. 219-229, for the character and importance of Greek history in this period.

of Athens and Olynthus to apply the federal principle to numerous city states had failed, the one from internal causes, the other from Spartan interference (§ 228). Now, two of the older confederacies — Aetolia and Achaea — stepped forth as champions of Hellas, and the federal organization gained a prominence wholly new in history.

262. The Aetolian League seems to have been originally a loose union of mountain cantons for defence. The Wars of the Succession, however, made the Aetolians famous as the boldest soldiers of fortune in the Hellenic world; and this repute, together with the wealth brought home by the thousands of such adventurers, led to a more aggressive policy on the part of the league. The people remained, on the whole, rude mountaineers, "brave, boastful, rapacious, and utterly reckless of the rights of others." They did play a part in saving southern Greece from the invading Gauls (§ 248), but their confederacy became more and more an organization for lawless plunder. Their original constitution seems to have been much like the Achaean (which, however, we know more in detail); but as they extended their authority over distant cities by conquest or by threats of blackmail, they did not incorporate these new elements into the union on equal terms, as the great Achaean League was to do with its new members. The Aetolian Union, therefore, soon comes to be less valuable as an example of federal government than is its great rival.

II. THE ACHAEAN LEAGUE.

263. Origin. — The people of Achaea were unwarlike, and not particularly enterprising or intellectual. They gave no great name to literature or art, nor did they even furnish great statesmen, for all the heroes of the league were to come from outside old Achaea. But, still, the Achaean League is one of the most remarkable federations in history before the adoption of the present Constitution of the United States.

A federal union of Achaean townships existed as early as

the Persian wars, as a common coinage of that time proves. Under the Macedonian kings the league was destroyed, and tyrants were set up in several of the ten Achaean cities. But, about 280 B.C., four small towns revived the ancient confederacy. Neighboring tyrants were driven out; indeed, Iseas of Ceryneia voluntarily resigned his tyranny, and brought his city into the league. The union swiftly absorbed all Achaea. The ruin that followed the Gallic invasion in the north seems to have prevented Macedonian interference until the federation was securely established.

264. The Constitution. — During this period the constitution took form. The supreme authority of the league was vested in a federal congress. This was not a *representative* body, but a *primary* assembly, or mass meeting, of all citizens of the league who chose to attend. To prevent the city where the meeting was held from outweighing the others, each city was given only one vote.[1] The Assembly was held twice a year, for only three days at a time, and in a small place, so that a great capital should not overshadow the rest of the league. It chose yearly a General (or president), with various subordinate officers, a Council of Ten, and a Senate. The same general could not be chosen two years in succession.

This government raised federal taxes and armies, and represented Achaea in all foreign relations. Each city remained a distinct state, with full control over all its internal matters — with its own Assembly, Council, and Generals; but no city of itself could make peace or war, enter into alliances, or send ambassadors to another state. That is, the Achaean League was a true federation, and not a mere alliance.

In theory the constitution was extremely democratic; in practice it proved otherwise. Men attended the Assembly at their own expense; any Achaean *might* come, but only the

[1] That is, ten or twelve men from a distant town cast the vote of that city, and counted just as much as several hundred from a city nearer the place of meeting. Compare the voting by "tribes" in the Athenian Assembly (§ 134).

wealthy could afford to do so habitually. Then, since the meetings were necessarily so few and brief, great authority had to be left in the intervals to the general and council. Any Achaean was eligible to these offices; but as they were unsalaried, poor men could hardly afford to take them, and, in any case, could not get them from the wealthy class that dominated the Assembly. Thus a decidedly aristocratic character resulted from applying to a large territory the Greek system of a *primary* assembly, suited only to single cities. A primary assembly made the city of Athens a perfect democracy; the same institution made Achaea intensely aristocratic.

The constitution, it is plain, avoided several dangers and evils common in early attempts at federation. Its two weaknesses were: (*a*) that it made no use of the representative system, which no doubt would have seemed to the Achaeans less democratic, but which in practice would have enabled a larger part of the citizens to have a voice in the government; and (*b*) that all cities, great or small, had the same vote. This last did not matter so much perhaps at first, for the little Achaean towns did not differ materially in size; but it became a manifest injustice, and therefore an element of weakness, when the union came later to contain some of the most powerful cities in Greece. However, this feature was almost universal in early confederacies that did not change into consolidated empires, and it was the principle of the American Union until 1789.

The one exception of note was the Lycian confederacy in Asia Minor. The Lycians were not Greeks, apparently; but they had taken on some Greek culture, and their federal union was an advance even upon the Achaean, though it was absorbed by Rome before it played an important part in history. In its Assembly, the vote was taken by cities, but the cities were divided into three classes: the larger had three votes each, the next class two each, and the smallest only one. This was the nearest approach in ancient history to a federation wherein the states should have weight according to their importance. Even the Lycians had no representative assemblies, and, at the league gathering, the numerical value of the vote of a city depended, of course, not upon the size of its contingent at that meeting but upon the relative place assigned it by the constitution.

265. Expansion beyond Achaea. — The power vested in the general makes the history of the league the biography of a few great men. The most remarkable of these leaders was *Aratus*[1] of Sicyon, who now entered upon the stage to extend the union far beyond Achaea. As a youth of twenty he had returned from exile to free his native city from a bloody and despicable tyranny (251 B.C.). The daring venture was brilliantly successful, but it aroused the enmity of Macedon; and to preserve the freedom so nobly won, Aratus brought Sicyon into the Achaean federation. Five years later he was first elected general of the league, and he held that office each alternate year (as often as the constitution permitted) from this time until his death, thirty-two years later, while the generals in the odd years were commonly his partisans.

Aratus hated tyrants and longed for a free and united Greece. He aimed at a noble end, but did not refuse base means. He was personally incorruptible, and he lavished his own vast wealth for the union: but he was jealous of other leaders; he betrayed to death on the field of battle the noblest hero of the league; and finally, to maintain his supremacy, he called in Macedonia, and himself undid all his work. With abounding daring in a dashing project, as he many times showed, he lacked nerve to command in battle; he frequently showed cowardice, and he never won a real victory in the field; but, despite his many defeats, his persuasive power and his merits kept him the confidence of the union to the end of a long public life.

In his second generalship, Aratus freed Corinth from her Macedonian tyrant by a desperate night attack upon the garrison of the citadel. That powerful city then entered the union. So did Megara, which itself drove out its Macedonian garrison. The league now commanded the Isthmus, and was safe from attack by Macedonia. Then several cities in Arcadia joined, and in 234 B.C. Megalopolis was added — at this time one of the

[1] Aratus is the first statesman known to us from his own memoirs. That work itself no longer exists, but Plutarch drew upon it for his *Life*, as did Polybius for his history.

leading cities in Greece. Some years earlier its tyranny had been seized by *Lydiadas*, a gallant youth animated by enthusiasm for beneficent autocratic reform.[1] The growth of the Achaean League opened a nobler way; Lydiadas resigned his tyranny, and as a private citizen brought the Great City into the union. This made him a candidate for popular favor, and Aratus became his bitter foe. The new leader was the more lovable and heroic figure — generous and ardent, a soldier as well as a statesman. He several times became general of the league, but even in office he was often thwarted by the disgraceful trickery of the older man.

For many years Aratus had aimed to free Athens and Argos — sometimes by heroic endeavors, sometimes by assassination and poison. In 229 B.C. he succeeded. He bought the withdrawal of Macedonian troops from the Peiraeus, and Athens became an ally, though not a member of the league.[2] The tyrant of Argos was persuaded or frightened into following the example of Lydiadas, — as indeed had happened meanwhile in many smaller cities, — and Argos joined the confederacy. The league now was the commanding power in Hellas. It included all Peloponnesus except Sparta and Elis. Moreover, all Greece south of Thermopylae had become free, — largely through the influence of the confederacy, — and most of these states also had entered into friendly alliance with it.

266. The Conflict with Sparta; Social Reforms in Sparta. — But now came a conflict with Sparta. The struggle was connected with a great reform within that ancient city. The forms of the Lycurgan constitution had survived through many centuries, but at this time Sparta had only seven hundred full citizens. This condition brought about a violent agitation for social reform, the beginning of which indeed was noticeable one

[1] This was true of several tyrants in this age, and it was due no doubt in part to the new respect for monarchy since Alexander's time, and in part to new theories of government taught by the philosophers.

[2] The old historic cities, Athens and Sparta, could not be brought to look favorably upon such a union.

hundred and fifty years before (§ 221). About the year 243 B.C. *Agis*, one of the kings, set himself to do again what Lycurgus had done in legend. Agis was a youthful hero, full of noble daring and pure enthusiasm. He gave his own property to the state and persuaded his relatives and friends to do the like. He planned to abolish all debts and to divide the land among forty-five hundred Spartans and fifteen thousand Perioeci — thus reëstablishing the state upon a broad and democratic basis. He refused to use violence, and sought his ends by constitutional means only; but the disciplined conservative party rose in fierce opposition and, by order of the ephors, Agis was seized, with his noble mother and grandmother, and murdered in prison, — "the purest and noblest spirit," says Freeman, "that ever perished through deeming others as pure and noble as himself."

But the ideals of the martyr lived on. His wife was forced to marry *Cleomenes*, son of the other king; and from her this prince adopted the hopes of Agis. Cleomenes had less of high sensitiveness and stainless honor, but he is a grand and colossal figure. He bided his time; and then, when the ephors were planning to use force against him, he struck first. He became king in 236 B.C. Aratus had led the Achaean League into war with Sparta in order to consolidate the Peloponnesus; but the military genius of the young king made even old, enfeebled Sparta a match for the league under the miserable leadership of its general. Cleomenes won two great victories.[1] Then, the league being helpless for the moment, he used his popularity to effect reform at home. The oligarchs were plotting against him, but he was enthusiastically supported by the disfranchised multitudes. Leaving his Spartan troops at a distance, he hurried to the city by forced marches with some chosen followers, seized and slew the ephors, and proclaimed a new constitution, which embodied the economic

[1] In one of these battles Aratus held back the Achaean phalanx, through timidity or jealousy, while Lydiadas, heading a gallant charge, was overpowered by numbers and slain.

designs of Agis and which virtually placed all political power in the hands of the king.

267. Macedonian Supremacy Restored. — Cleomenes designed to make this new Sparta the head of the Peloponnesus. He and Aratus each desired a free united Greece, but under different leadership. Moreover Sparta now stood forth the advocate of socialism, and so was particularly hateful and dangerous to the aristocratic government of the league. The struggle between the two powers was renewed with fresh bitterness. Cleomenes won more victories, and then, with the league at his feet, he offered generous terms. He demanded that Sparta enter the union as virtual leader. This would have altered the character of the confederacy, but it would have created the greatest power ever seen in Greece, and, for the time, it would have insured a free Hellas. The Achaeans were generally in favor of accepting the proposal; but Aratus — jealous of Cleomenes and fearful of social reform — broke off the negotiations by underhanded methods, and bought the aid of Macedon by betraying Corinth, a free member of the league and the city connected with his own most glorious exploit. As a result, the federation became a protectorate of Macedonia, holding no relations with foreign states except through that power; and the war became a struggle for Greek freedom, waged by Sparta under her hero-king against the overwhelming power of Macedon assisted by the confederacy as a vassal state.

The date (222 B.C.) coincides with the general decline of Hellenic power in the world (§ 249). For a while, Sparta showed surprising vigor, and Cleomenes was marvelously successful. The league indeed dwindled to a handful of petty cities. But in the end Macedonia prevailed. Cleomenes fled to Egypt, to die in exile; and Sparta opened her gates for the first time to a conquering army. The league was restored to nearly its full extent, but its glory was gone. It still served a useful purpose in maintaining internal peace and order over a

large part of Peloponnesus, but it was no longer a champion of a free Hellas.

268. The Final Decline of the League. — A war followed between Achaea and Aetolia. This soon became a struggle between Macedonia and her vassals on the one side, and Aetolia aided by Rome on the other; for as Achaea had called in Macedon against Sparta, so now Aetolia called in Rome against Achaea and Macedonia, — and Greek history is closed.

Some gleams of glory shine out at the last in the career of *Philopoemen* of Megalopolis, the greatest general the Achaean League ever produced, and one of the noblest characters in history; but the doom of Achaea was already sealed. "Philopoemen," says Freeman, "was one of the heroes who struggle against fate, and who are allowed to do no more than to stave off a destruction which it is beyond their power to avert." The sentence may stand not unfittingly for the epitaph of the great league itself.

References for Further Study. — Sources: Plutarch's *Aratus, Agis, Cleomenes, Philopoemen;* Polybius' *History* (index for Achaean and Aetolian leagues; extracts in Fling's *Studies*, No. 5). Modern authorities: Thirwall, bk. viii.; Freeman's *Federal Government;* Holm, IV.

Special Reports. — 1. Compare Plutarch and Polybius on the reforms at Sparta. 2. The life of Agis. 3. Cleomenes in exile. 4. Philopoemen.

Class Exercise. — Review, with attention to progressive development, the various confederacies, — Peloponnesian, Delian, Chalcidic, Achaean.

REVIEW EXERCISES ON PARTS II. AND III.

A. Fact Drills on Greek History.

1. The class should form a *Table of Dates* gradually as the critical points are reached, and should then *drill* upon it until it says itself as the alphabet does. The following dates are enough for this kind of drill in

Greek history. The table should be filled out as is done for the first two dates.

776 B.C.	First Olympiad (?)	338 B.C.
490 "	Marathon	222 "
405 "		146 "
371 "		

2. *List and name fifteen battles* in chronological order, between 776 and 146 B.C., stating for each the parties, leaders, result, and importance. (*Such tables also should be made by degrees as the events are reached.*)

3. *Explain concisely the following terms or names:* Olympiads, Ephors, Olynthiac Confederacy, Mycenaean Culture, Olympian Religion, Amphictyonies, Sappho. (*Let the class extend the list several fold.*)

B. Topical Reviews.

This is a good point at which to review certain "culture topics," — *i.e.* Greek philosophy, literature, art, religion, — tracing each separately from the dawn of history. The chief divisions of Greek history should be fixed clearly in the mind: for this the Table of Contents is a sufficient guide.

PART IV.

ROME.

The center of our studies, the goal of our thoughts, the point to which all paths lead and the point from which all paths start again, is to be found in Rome and her abiding power.[1] — FREEMAN.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY SURVEY.

I. THE PLACE OF ROME IN HISTORY.

269. The Exponent of Empire and Law. — Rome stands for organization and law, as Greece for culture. During the later period of the history of Greece there had been growing up in the peninsula to the west a power that was to take over, extend, and supplement her work. The peculiar function of Rome was to make empire and to rule it. This the Romans themselves recognized; their poet Vergil wrote: —

"Others, I grant, indeed, shall with more delicacy mold the breathing brass; from marble draw the features to the life; plead causes better; describe with a rod the courses of the heavens, and explain the rising stars. To rule the nations with imperial sway be thy care, O Romans. These shall be thy arts: to impose terms of peace, to spare the humbled, and to crush the proud."

The history of Rome is the history of the growth of a village community into a city state; the growth of that city state into a consolidated Italian state; and the further growth of

[1] See § 3.

that Italy into a world state. The village by the Tiber did first for its surrounding hills what Athens did for the villages of Attica; but it went on to do for all Italy what Athens failed to do for Greece, and then for all the Mediterranean world what Alexander failed to do politically — save for a moment — for the eastern half. The later Greeks had collected and organized the letters, arts, sciences, of all the nations of antiquity. Rome was to preserve this common treasure of mankind for future ages; to extend this civilization over the barbarous West; to incorporate this new West along with the Hellenic empires of the East into a single, close-bound political unity; and to furnish this world state with laws and institutions that have influenced all later time.

270. The Roman and the Greek: Work and Character. — This imperial work of Rome — to make the world Roman — was not due to her genius in war, great as that was, so much as to her political wisdom and her organizing power. The Romans were stern and harsh, but they were also just, obedient, reverent, and legal-minded. They were a disciplined people, and they loved order. The work of the Greeks and that of the Romans are curiously and happily related. Each is strong where the other is weak. The Greeks gave us philosophy and art; the Romans, political institutions and legal systems. The Greek intellect was speculative, the Roman was practical. The merit of the Greek was his individuality; of the Roman, his submission to law.

This truth is so important that it is worth while to see how different scholars have phrased it.

"The Greeks had more genius; the Romans more stability. . . . They [the Romans] had less delicacy of perception, . . . but they had more sobriety of character and more endurance. . . . Versatility belonged to the Greek, virility to the Roman." — Fisher, *Outlines of Universal History*, 125.

"Action, achievement, and, as means to these, order, system, law, not attention to ideas or ideals, mark the Roman nature." — Andrews, *Institutes of General History*, 73.

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"Latium, in the poverty of its artistic development, stands almost on a level with uncivilized peoples; Hellas developed . . . that marvelous world of poetry and sculpture, the like of which history has not again to show. In Latium no other influences were powerful but prudence, riches, strength; it was reserved for the Hellenes to feel the blissful ascendancy of beauty. . . . The points in which the Hellenes excel the Italians are more universally intelligible and reflect a more brilliant luster; but the deep feeling in each individual that he was only a part of the community, the rare devotedness and power of self-sacrifice, the earnest faith in its own gods, form the rich treasure of the Italian nation. . . . Resolutely, the Italian surrendered his own personal will for the sake of freedom, and learned to obey his father that he might know how to obey the state." — Mommsen, I. 36.

"If it be true, as is sometimes said, that there is no literature which rivals the Greek except the English, it is perhaps even more true that the Anglo-Saxon is the only race which can be placed beside the Roman in creative power in law and politics." — George Burton Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, 21.

II. THE LAND.

271. Limits: the Apennine District; Exclusion of the Po Valley. — Modern Italy, bounded by the Alps and the sea, comprises two distinct halves — the level valley of the Po extending from east to west, and the slender mountainous peninsula reaching from it south into the Mediterranean. But until about 27 B.C., the Po valley was always considered part of Gaul (*Cisalpine Gaul, or Gaul this side the Alps*), and the name *Italy* was extended at most to the true peninsula with the Apennine range for its backbone.

272. Relations of its Geography to its History. — Like Greece, Italy was specially fitted by nature for the work it was to do. Three important considerations are easily grasped, each tending to a development different from the eastern peninsula's.

a. Political Unity. — Italy was more fit than Greece for that internal consolidation that made the only safe basis for external empire. The valleys and tablelands of the Apennines are connected by easy passes, and the geographical divisions

of the lowlands are larger and less distinct than the districts in Greece. The resulting tendency toward political unity was reënforced by other features: the fertile plains of the lowlands and the grassy slopes of the mountains were better suited to agriculture and grazing than were the lands of Greece, while Italy lacked the many harbors, the deep bays, and the island-studded sea that invited the earliest Hellenes to commerce. Thus, while civilization came later, energy and effort were kept at home longer, until the foundations of empire were more securely laid.

b. Direction of the First Outside Effort. — The Apennines not only fixed the internal development of Italy; they determined also the direction of its first outward movements. The mountains are nearer the eastern coast, and on this side the short rocky spurs and swift torrents quickly lose themselves in the Adriatic. The western slope is nearly twice as broad; here are the large fertile plains and the few rivers, and, as a result, most of the few harbors and the important states. Thus Italy and Greece stood back to back (§ 82*d*). This fact explains their separate development for so long a time. Thus, too, Italy faced west toward Spain, and, through Sicily, toward Africa; and when she was ready for outside work, she gave herself first to conquering and civilizing these lands with their fresh, vigorous peoples.

c. External Dominion.[1] — European culture began in the peninsula which was at once "the most European of European lands" and the European land most accessible to the older civilizations of the East. Just as fittingly, the state which was to unify and rule the scattered lands of the Mediterranean took its rise in the central peninsula that divides and commands that inland sea. In actual history, her central position was to enable Italy, in her struggle for empire, to divide the Carthaginian power in Africa and Spain from its Hellenic

[1] Fuller discussions in Mommsen, I. 15–17; How and Leigh, 2–11; Shuckburgh, 5–10.

allies in the East, to concentrate her own forces along her shorter lines of communication, and to conquer her enemies in detail.

III. PEOPLES OF ITALY.

273. A Mingling of Races. — For some centuries on either side the birth of Christ, Italy was to be the mistress of the world; but before, as since, she had been the victim of stronger peoples. Even in prehistoric times, the fame of her fertility and beauty had tempted successive swarms of invaders across the Alps and the Adriatic, and at the opening of history the land already held a curious mixture of races.

274. Chief Divisions. — The center was the home of the *Italians* who eventually were to give their language and law to the whole peninsula. They fell into two branches: the western Italians were lowlanders, represented mainly by the Latins of Latium; the eastern and larger section were highlanders, and were again subdivided into Sabines, Samnites, Volscians, Aequians, Lucanians, and so on. War, of course, was the normal condition between the Latins of the plain and their ruder kinsmen of the mountain.

The more important of the other races were recent comers — *Greeks* in the south, *Gauls* and *Etruscans* in the north. The Greeks of Magna Graecia have been referred to in earlier pages. The Gauls had entered last, and held the Po valley. They were merely a portion of the Gauls from beyond the Alps, and they remained barbarian until conquered by Rome.

The Etruscans are a mysterious people — "the standing riddle of history." Scholars now incline to believe them a branch of the broad-headed Alpine race (§ 8). At an early time they had held a large part of Italy in three great confederacies — in the Po valley, in Etruria, and in Campania. Apparently they had ruled in Latium also, possessing for a time all the lowlands from the Alps to the Greek cities of the south. But before detailed history begins, they had been

forced from the territory south of the Tiber by a Latin and Samnite revival, while the Gallic invasion had driven them

Remains of Etruscan Arch at Volaterrae.

from the Po, and they had become restricted practically to the central district, Etruria, just beyond the Tiber from the Latins. They were still, however, the most civilized people in Italy. They were mighty and skillful builders, and have

left numerous interesting ruins with multitudes of inscriptions, in a language to which, unfortunately, scholars can find no key. They became celebrated early for their work in bronze and iron, and they were the first commercial people in Italy. Probably they introduced many arts from the Phoenicians and

Greeks. In later times their power declined rapidly before the rising Roman state, the heir of their civilization. Etruscan rulers or builders in early Rome reared her walls, drained her marshes, and fringed the Tiber-side with great quays; and to the last, the Roman's dress (the toga), his house, his favorite amusements (the cruel sports of the amphitheater), and much of his religion (especially the divination and soothsay-

ing), were Etruscan; while from the same source he learned his unrivaled power to build for all time.[1] The Etruscans were Rome's first teachers. The Greeks were to take up that office at a later time.

275. "Fragments of Forgotten Peoples." — Besides these four great races, whom Rome was finally to fuse into one strong and noble nation, there were also fragments of earlier peoples — Iapygians in the southern mountains, Veneti in the marshes of the northeast, and, in the extreme northwest, between the Alps and the sea, the wild *Ligurians*. These last were rude hill-men, resembling the Basques of the Pyrenees. They had fought savagely for their crags and caves with Etruscans and Gauls, and were long to harass the Roman legions with guerrilla warfare. Later, they furnished Rome an admirable light infantry.

For Further Reading. — With reference to the races of Italy, advanced students may consult the linguistic theories in Mommsen, I. 9–17. Good treatments are given by How and Leigh, 11–19; Shuckburgh, 10–20; and Allcroft and Masom, 1–18. Sergi's *Mediterranean Race* gives recent theories.

IV. GEOGRAPHICAL ADVANTAGES OF ROME.

276. Rome a Type, differentiated from other Italian Cities by Geography. — For long, Rome was simply one of many Italian towns, and, so far as we can tell, her development was typical of other Italian city life. It is impossible to say why just this particular city, rather than some other of the same land and race, should finally have become the ruling power; but we can see that the greatness of Rome rested, in part, at least, upon geographical conditions. Four physical factors may be noted.

[1] Special report: Etruscan art and architecture. Duruy's *History of Rome*, I., contains much valuable material. A brief discussion of the question of an Etruscan conquest of early Rome is given in Pelham, 32–36. See also Mommsen's theory. Charles Godfrey Leland's *Etrusco-Roman Remains* (specially in the Introduction) gives a most interesting account of the survival to-day

a. Central Position. — Rome is the central city of the peninsula, and so had advantages for consolidating Italy like those enjoyed by Italy for unifying the Mediterranean coasts. It was not altogether accidental that Mediterranean dominion fell to the central city of the central land.

b. Commercial Site. — The Tiber was the one navigable river of Italy. In the older times ships sailed up the river to Rome, while barges brought down to her wharves the wheat and wine of the uplands. The site had the advantages of a port, but was far enough from the coast to be safer than a coast town from sudden raids by the pirates that swarmed on the sea. There is no doubt that Rome's early greatness in Latium was largely due to her importance as a mart of commerce, and her earlier peasant dwellers rapidly became princely merchants and money lenders.[1]

c. A Mark State. — The Latin settlement by the Tiber was a "mark state," bordering on hostile Etruria across the river and on hostile Sabines in the eastern mountains. The settlers of necessity excelled other Latins in war, and held a moral leadership among them as their champions.[2] Such a position was favorable also to some mingling of stocks, such as Roman tradition insisted did take place.

d. "The Seven Hills": Federation, Flexible Custom, Law. — Most important of all, Rome was the "city of the seven hills." Italian towns, like the Greek (§ 93), had their origin each in some acropolis, or hill fortress; and even in Latium there were many settlements, like the older Alba Longa or the later Praeneste, that frowned from more formidable heights than those held by Rome. But nowhere else was there so placed

among the Tuscan peasantry of the old pre-Roman pagan religion and divination.

[1] Read Mommsen, I. 59–62 on the Tiber traffic, or Tighe, 51–53; and, if accessible, Goldwin Smith's *Greatness of the Romans*, in the *Contemporary Review* for May, 1878, or in *Lectures and Essays*.

[2] For the growth of "mark," or border, states into empires, advanced students will note the later cases of Wessex in England, and Prussia and Austria in Germany.

in the midst of a fertile plain a *group of hills*, each suited for separate settlement, but so close together that hostility or isolation had to give way ere long to federation or conquest. Tradition and geography agree that Rome arose from the association of such a group of separate towns.[1]

Nor was the gain merely in physical power. That was the least of it. Early societies are fettered rigidly by tyrannous custom, so that the beginnings of change and progress are inconceivably slow. In Rome this incorporation of distinct societies on equal terms broke these bonds at a period far earlier than common. Necessity compelled the tribes to adopt broader views of their relations toward each other; and compromise and treaty took the place of inflexible custom. Thus Rome was started upon the development of her marvelous system of law, and the process of association began that was later to unite Italy.

V. LEGENDARY HISTORY.

277. Old Writers and Sources.[2] — The Romans did not begin to write the history of their city until about 200 B.C., — two centuries after Herodotus and Thucydides had created the noble historical literature of Greece. The first Roman histories, moreover, were rude and meager annals. The composers found two kinds of materials for the earlier centuries — unreliable family chronicles and scant official records. The latter, which had been kept by the colleges of priests, comprised only lists of magistrates for the early period, with an occasional brief notice of some striking event or some peculiar natural phenomenon, like an eclipse; and even these barren records had been destroyed up to the year 390 B.C. (when the Gauls sacked the city), and had been restored, imperfectly, from

[1] Freeman's *Historical Essays*, Second Series, 252, 253; Ihne's *Early Rome*, 6–8; Goldwin Smith, in *Contemporary Review*, May, 1878; Mommsen, I. 62–71, and 100–109.

[2] The class should read Ihne's *Early Rome*, 9–31; or Ihne's *History*, I. 277–284; or Tighe, 7–17; or Shuckburgh, 55–60.

memory. And though the great gentes fed their pride by set funeral orations [1] and by family histories, yet these were based upon oral tradition distorted to suit family glory; and of course they were filled with the wildest exaggerations and inventions.

From such sources *Fabius Pictor* (§ 489) wrote the first connected history of Rome. He and his successors (mostly Greeks at Rome) trimmed and patched their narratives ingeniously to get rid of the grosser inconsistencies; borrowed freely from incidents in Greek history, and apparently just as freely from their imagination, to fill gaps; and so gradually produced an attractive story that hung together pretty well in the absence of skilled criticism. These early works themselves are now lost; but two hundred years later, *Livy* and *Dionysius* built upon them, and, until after 1800 A.D., the accounts of the legendary age by these writers were accepted as real history. They held their place in schools even longer, and until recently were one of the most essential parts of a boy's "historical" knowledge.

278. Abstract of the "Legends of Regal Rome." — According to this classical story (told in great detail through many chapters) Rome was ruled from 753 to 510 B.C. by seven successive kings. The founder, *Romulus*, was the son of Mars, God of War, and of a Latin princess; as a babe he had been exposed to die, but was preserved and suckled by a wolf; he grew up among rude shepherds; with their aid he built a city on the Palatine Mount above the old wolf's den; here he gathered about him outlaws from all quarters, and these men seized the daughters of a Sabine tribe for wives; this led to war, and finally to the union of the Romans and the Sabines, who then settled upon one of the neighboring

[1] Special report upon Roman funeral customs with reference to historical orations. The Latins never had a Homer to create a great national epic, but Niebuhr held that they must have had a voluminous ballad literature, and that the early annalists drew upon this. Macaulay adopted this view, and in his *Lays of Ancient Rome* tried to reproduce such ballads. Every student should know the *Lays*; and the introduction contains a valuable discussion upon the sources of Roman history. Ihne, however, and later scholars generally, doubt the existence of any extensive ballad literature at Rome. See *Early Rome*, 18, 19.

hills. Romulus organized the people into tribes, curias, and gentes; appointed a senate; conquered widely; and was finally taken up to heaven by the gods in a thunderstorm, or, as some thought, was killed by jealous senators. *Numa*, the next king, elected after a year's interregnum, established religious rites, and gave laws and arts of peace, which were taught him by the nymph Egeria in a sacred grove by night. *Tullus Hostilius*, a warlike conqueror, is a shadowy Romulus, and *Ancus Marcius* is a faint copy of Numa. The fifth king was *Tarquin the First*, an Etruscan adventurer, who was succeeded by *Servius Tullius*, son of a slave girl, and he was followed by a second Tarquin, *Tarquin the Proud*, whose tyranny led to expulsion and to the establishment of a republic. The last three sovereigns were "tyrants" in the Greek sense; they favored the common people, or the plebs, against the aristocratic patricians; and they extended the sway of Rome, and constructed great and useful works.

279. The Present Attitude of Scholars. — To scholars of a century ago, Romulus and Tarquin were as historical as George the Third and Elizabeth; but early in the nineteenth century the German historian *Niebuhr* overthrew all belief in the stories prior to the republic, and indeed rejected the account of Livy for one hundred and twenty years more, down to 390 B.C. In 1853, *Sir George C. Lewis* in his two volumes on *The Credibility of Early Roman History* gave reasons for suspecting the details of the narratives for over a century more. No one now regards the legends of the regal period as history, and no one expects to fix more than general movements before 390 B.C.

However, beside the legends, we now have some other material: the researches of archaeologists into the early buildings of ancient Rome reveal some facts in the city's material growth; early inscriptions and annals in neighboring towns have been discovered, casting many side lights; and the study of later laws and customs helps to make clear the real nature of some obscure earlier institutions. Moreover, the stories themselves do have two kinds of historical value: they afford a basis for guesses at historical truth, some of which can then be proven good in other ways; and in any case they show what the later Romans thought noble and admirable in character and life.

References for Further Reading. — Some of the more important references have been given in detail by sections and paragraphs. For the chapter, as a whole, the chief modern guides are Mommsen and Ihne.

Special Reports. — 1. Particular legends of the kings, with modern criticism or interpretation. The teacher can select as many such topics as he can spare time for; material will be found in Ihne's *Early Rome*, or better, *History of Rome*, I. 2. Discuss relative historical value of Plutarch's *Lives* of *Romulus*, *Aratus*, *Themistocles*. The teacher can easily set a number of such exercises to different students: thus, *Numa*, *Solon*, *Cleomenes*, for a second set, etc.

CHAPTER II.

PROBABLE CONCLUSIONS AS TO REGAL ROME.

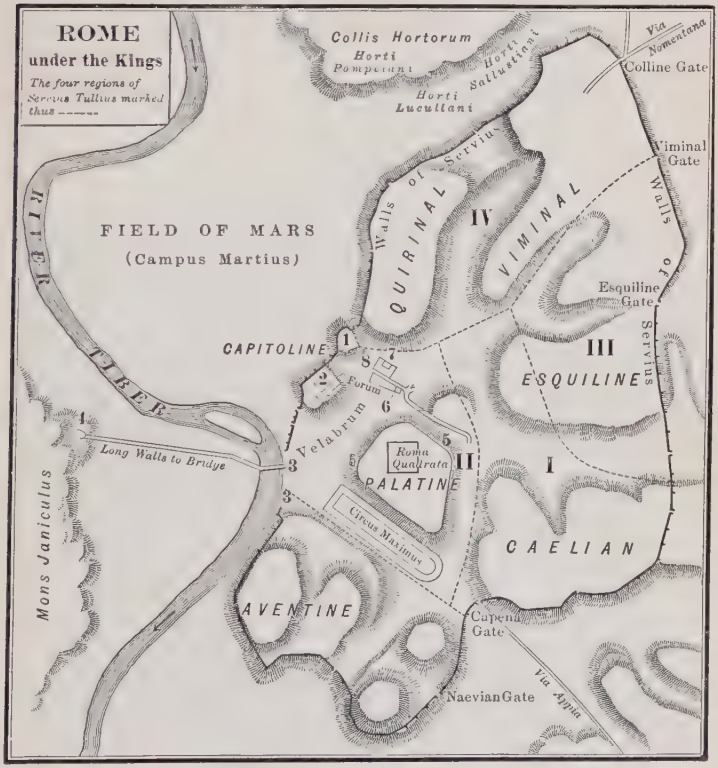
I. THE GROWTH OF THE CITY.

280. Unification of the Seven Hills. — The oldest part of Rome seems to have been a settlement on the crest of the Palatine — the most detached of the group of low hills on the south bank of the Tiber. The solidly built walls of this original "square town" can still be traced. With this city were successively confederated other Latin settlements on the neighboring hills, and finally a hostile Sabine outpost on the Quirinal.[1] Each such addition called for another more widely circling wall. The latest of these early walls, known as the wall of Servius, enclosed all the seven hills, together with vacant space sufficient for the growth of the city to a late period. Portions of this colossal structure still exist on the Aventine, as do also remains of the huge arched drains that converted the marshes between the Capitol and the Palatine into the firm ground of the *Forum* (market place) and the *Comitium*, or place of assembly.

281. Growth of Territory beyond the Walls. — At first, even after the union of the seven hills, the territory of the city must have been but a narrow strip along the river, some two miles down and five miles up its course, limited in every direction

[1] Apart from tradition, the proofs of original separate settlements are manifold. Later Latin writers mention rude ramparts of distinct ancient settlements still existing in their day on the Esquiline, the Capitol, and the Quirinal; while in recent times such remains have been discovered on the Coelian. Various festivals of later Rome and certain religious rites point also to such union of separate settlements, and a number of double priesthoods indicate a like fact. See Pelham, 15–17, or Shuckburgh, 23–26; and, more fully, Mommsen, I. 77–87.

by the lands of other like towns (of which there were thirty in little Latium). But before 500 B.C. war with neighboring Latin, Sabine, and Etruscan cities had produced decided expansion. Rome had come to possess nearly one third of Latium



1. Citadel (Arx).
2. Temple of Jupiter (Capitolinus).
3. Quays of the Tarquins.
4. Citadel at Janiculum.
5. Old Wall of Romulus.
6. Temple of Vesta.
7. Senate House (Curia).
8. Comitium.

and to control the Latin side of the Tiber, some eighteen miles either way, from the highlands to its mouth, where was founded the first Roman colony, *Ostia*, for a port. Rome also won and held a fortified hill, the *Mount Janiculum*, just across the Tiber,

as an outpost against the Etruscans. Several of the conquered Latin towns were razed, and their inhabitants brought to Rome. What was more important, Rome had destroyed *Alba Longa* (the Long White City), the ancient head of the Latin confederacy, and had succeeded to that headship herself.

For Further Reading. — Mommsen, bk. i. chs. iv. and vii.; Ihne, I. 8–107, gives a good criticism of the legends.

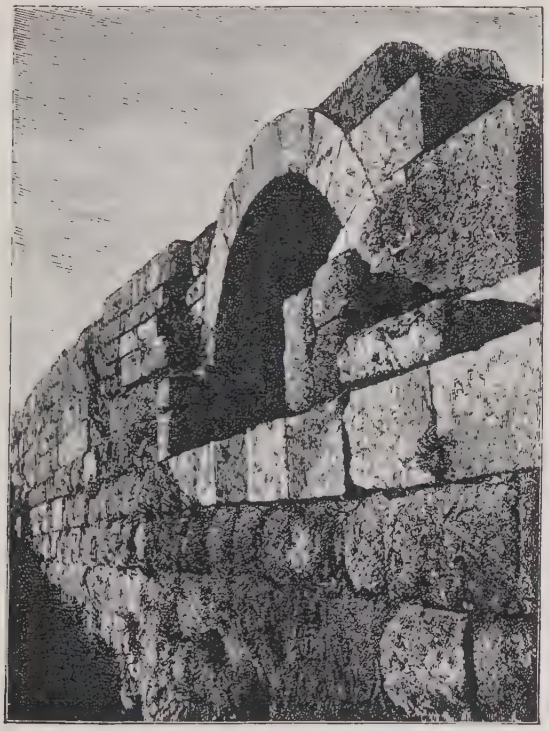
II. CITIZENS AND NON-CITIZENS.

282. Patricians. — Three of the settlements on the Tiber hills seem to have federated finally upon a footing of essential equal-

The Cloaca Maxima.

ity, making the three Roman tribes — Ramnes, Tities, and Luceres. These tribesmen were *patricians* (men "with fathers," or men of regular citizenship through their fathers). They formed the "Roman people" in the strict sense; and for a long time they were the only full citizens, except as they now and then adopted clans from conquered cantons into their ranks.

283. Clients. — The greater patrician families in regal times contained numerous non-freemen, below the son and above the slave, known as clients. The client could hold property and engage in trade; but his rights at law were secured only through



Remains of the Wall of Servius on the Aventine.

his patron, and, as against the patron, he had no protection except custom and public opinion. His children remained dependents in the same family. The origin of the class is uncertain; but it was recruited in regal Rome from the freed slaves (who remained attached in this way to the family of their old master) and from strangers who, on coming to Rome, placed

themselves of choice in this relation to a powerful patrician in order to secure protection.

284. Plebeians. — When the population of a conquered canton in the early time was removed to Rome, the whole people sometimes became "clients of the king." They soon took the name of plebeians. Their rights were less assured at first than those of the clients of some individual patrician, but they were freer from the interference of a master. They were reënforced by the class of refugees and adventurers that arose in all Italian and Greek cities (§ 136), especially in a commercial city like Rome; and their importance and security grew with their numbers, until the old domestic clients sought escape into their ranks.[1]

Thus the inhabitants of Rome were left in the two classes,— patricians and plebeians. The latter were not citizens. They had no part in the religion or law or politics of the city. They could not intermarry with citizens; and though good policy and custom required the city to protect their property rights, they had no satisfactory means[2] of securing even these against unscrupulous patricians.

For Further Reading, especially with reference to the origin and standing of the plebs: Mommsen, I. 109–114; Tighe, 54–58; Ihne, *Early Rome*, 114, 115, or *History*, I. 109, 110.

III. THE PATRICIAN ORGANIZATION.

285. The Family counted for more in Rome than in Greece or in the modern world. This was because of the peculiar power of the Roman father (*patria potestas*) over all his descendants in male lines. When his son took a wife, she,

[1] This early clientage, which wholly vanished, must not be confounded with the later and far different clientage of the last days of the republic and of the empire.

[2] Except in cases where the stranger came voluntarily from a Latin city whose people enjoyed by treaty mutual residence and trading rights with Rome.

too, leaving her own family, came under his control. His daughters of course by marriage passed from his hand under that of some other house-father. Roman law recognized no relationship through females.[1] The father ruled his household, and the households of his male descendants, as priest, judge, and king. He could sell or slay wife, unmarried daughter, grown-up son, or son's wife; and all that was theirs was his. No appeal lay from him to any higher judge.

So much for law. In custom, the father was largely influenced by near relatives and by his wife's relatives, and even more by public opinion and religious feeling. Thus a man was declared accursed if he sold a married son into slavery (though even then no law could touch him); and it is a curious fact that, despite the legal slavery of every wife, the Roman matrons possessed a dignity and public influence unknown in Greece.[2]

None the less this *patria potestas* was very real; and the despotism of the head of the family was to influence profoundly the development of the head of the state.[3]

286. The Gentes and Curias. — In Rome, as in Greece, we find above the family larger blood units, — the clans, or gentes. Originally, each clan must have been ruled by its chief, or perhaps by a council of heads of families. In the earliest historical times, however, the three hundred clans were grouped in thirty curias, which had come to be the most important divisions of the people, both for religious and for political purposes. Each curia possessed its own religious festivals, its own priest, its temple and sacred hearth; and in the political assembly of the people, the curia was the unit for voting. Probably in origin the curia corresponded to the Greek phratry; but in Rome it had become more vital, and had also come to be connected with a fixed territory.

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[1] See especially Coulanges, 71-75; and cf. § 88 of this book.

[2] Special report: stories illustrating the influence of women in republican Rome. (Can you parallel them in Greek history?)

[3] On the family, see Mommsen, I. 72–80. Advanced students may consult Coulanges' *Ancient City*, 41–76 and 95–131.

287. Exclusion of the Plebs from the Patrician Organization. — The client had a subordinate place in the family worship (as indeed the slave had); possibly the client had a place also in the political gatherings of his patron's curia, though he certainly had no vote; but the free plebeians were wholly outside this patrician organization.[1] Probably, however, they were not a mere mixed multitude. Many of them must have been brought to Rome as clans and tribes, and no doubt they kept up their gentile organization there, even though patrician (Roman) law and society knew nothing of it.[2] (Cf. also § 317.)

IV. RELIGION.

288. Sources in Ancestor and Nature Worship; Greek Influence. — The chief sources of the Roman religion were two: (1) for the family and curia, an ancestor worship similar to the Greek, but more intense, as we should expect from the nature of the Roman family; and (2) along with this, for the state, a nature worship. This latter was far ruder than in Greece. The Romans lacked imagination to give a live human character and real feeling to the powers of nature, and they could never create a rich and beautiful mythology, even though they did finally borrow the Greek gods — Zeus as Jupiter (Zeus-pater), Hera as Juno, Athené as Minerva, Ares as Mars, and so on through the Pantheon (§ 100).

289. Character: a Worship of Abstractions, by Formal Rites. — In crossing to Rome these deities became less like men, and more like mere colorless abstractions. In consequence, Roman religion seems to us "insipid and dull," only "a dreary round of ceremonies,"[3] with little of adoration, no poetry, and no love. As a matter of prudence, the will of the gods was

[1] This seems by far the preferable view. See Ihne, *History*, I. 109–114, and *Early Rome*, 112, and 114–116. See also Coulanges, 299–313, 341–349, 354–359, and elsewhere. Mommsen used to state a view sharply opposed to this, but his position has been somewhat modified in his later writings.

[2] Read Ihne's *Early Rome*, 114.

[3] The phrases are Mommsen's.

sought out by a strict study of omens, and they were worshiped with rigid observance of rites and ceremonies. Divine favor could be lost by failure to observe exact times and precise gestures in a service, or by the omission or addition of a single word; while, on the other hand, the mysterious intricacies of worship had the value of a conjuror's charm, and almost compelled the aid of the gods.

290. Priesthoods; Pontiffs and Augurs. — Under these conditions there grew up in Rome (as in other Italian towns) two important colleges of city priests — each a close corporation, holding office for life.

a. The six pontiffs (pontifices) had a general oversight of the whole complex system of divine law, and, indirectly, they became the guardians of human science also. Their care of the precise dates of festivals made them the keepers of the calendar and of the rude religious annals; they had oversight of weights and measures; and they themselves described their knowledge as the science of all things human and divine.

b. The gods at Rome manifested their will by omens, not by oracles.[1] The two most important kinds of these auspices were the flight, or other conduct of birds, and the nature of the entrails of animals. The interpretation of such signs became a kind of science, in the special possession of a college of six augurs.

Besides these skilled colleges for the religion of the whole city, each temple had its special priest. Of these, perhaps the most important were the six *Vestal Virgins*, who for centuries kept the sacred fire alive and pure on the city hearth.

291. Political Value (Religious Fiction). — Despite its formalism, or perhaps because of it, Roman religion became a mighty political instrument. No public act, vote, election, or battle, could be begun without divine approval. That approval once

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[1] *The Sibylline Books* were the only approach to an oracle in Roman history. A good topic for brief oral report (see Etruscan influence, § 274).

given, the gods were to be held to strict account. They were preëminently the guardians of engagements; and they themselves were bound by implied contracts with the state. If they were properly consulted concerning a proposed measure and had manifested their approval, then they were under obligation to see the project to a successful issue.

Thus piety became a matter of foresight; and the thrifty, mercantile Roman mind drove hard bargains, too, with the gods. Many "legal fictions" were introduced into the worship, so that finally the state might do pretty nearly as it pleased and still hold the gods to a shrewdly-secured support.[1] The soothsayers called for fresh animals until the entrails gave the signs desired by the ruling magistrate, and the gods were just as much bound as if they had shown favor at the first trial. The sky was watched until the desired birds did appear, and, in the later periods, tame birds were kept to give the required indications. If all signs failed, the augur could still declare that he found them. He himself thereby incurred divine wrath, but, since all forms had been complied with, the gods were bound to treat the obligation to the state as if the announcement had been true. In the earlier ages, of course, this element of crafty contrivance was probably absent, but even then the religion had the same bargain-and-sale character and a like formalism.

The priests and augurs, too, were the servants of the state, not its masters. They did not make a distinct hereditary class, but were themselves warriors and statesmen. In their priestly functions they acted only at the command of the civil magistrate. The augurs sought no omen, and made no announcement, except when directed to do so.

For Further Reading. — On ancestor worship: Tighe, 35–43, and Coulanges, 1–48. For the state religion in general: Ihne, *Early Rome*, 92–104; How and Leigh, 288–292; or a longer discussion in Mommsen,

[1] Such "fiction" is common in early religion, but nowhere else has it played so large a part as at Rome (see references at close of section).

bk. i. ch. xii. For Greek influence: Tighe, 105–108. On "legal fiction" in the Roman religion: How and Leigh, 290; or better, Ihne, *Early Rome*, 99, 100, 103, 125.

V. EARLIEST POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

292. The King (rex). — The three political elements — king, council of chiefs, and popular assembly of tribesmen — which we saw in Homeric Greece (§§ 95–97), appeared also in legendary Rome. The king, however, held a more prominent place. He stood to the Roman state as the father to the Roman family. The royal *imperium* was only an enlarged copy of the paternal *potestas*. The king was judge, without appeal, in all cases outside the individual family. He was absolute over the lives of the citizens. He alone could call together senate or Assembly, or make proposals to them. The consent of the Assembly was required for the accession of a new king; but, regularly, that consent could be given only to some one nominated by the previous king. (See also § 294.)

So long, indeed, as the king claimed to keep within old custom, there was no legal check upon his power. But he did not hold this authority against the popular will. He was absolute, because Roman ideas favored such power in the head of the family and of the state. Like the house-father, moreover, he was limited in practice by custom and by public opinion. He was expected to consider the advice of the senate, as the father was to consider that of relatives, and he could not change an existing custom without the consent both of the Assembly and the senate. If he ceased to respect these indefinite but very real checks, he was very likely to cease to rule.

293. The Comitia Curiata. — The earliest popular Assembly was an assembly by curias. Each curia had one vote. If clients were present, they had no voice in determining the vote of their patrons' curias (§ 287 and note). The gathering politically was purely patrician. The curias met at call of the

king, usually only to hear his commands, but their approval was required for all *change*,—for offensive war, new laws,[1] the adoption of new clans into a curia or of strangers into a family, or the alienation of property by will. The Assembly also approved or rejected the king's nominees for offices.

294. The Senate seems originally to have been a council of the chiefs (cf. § 96) of the three hundred clans. It kept this number, but the kings gradually got the power of appointing to vacancies — probably at first when there were conflicting claims within a clan, and finally at will. The senate had become mainly an advisory body, though it had also a veto on any change. When a king died without a successor, it resumed more of its original power: its members ruled by turns, for five days each, as *inter-reges* ("kings for an interval"). The first inter-rex was chosen by lot; each one then designated his successor, and any one after the first could nominate a permanent king; but no election could take place except upon such nomination. Each inter-rex for his brief rule retained the regal imperium in full.[2]

VI. TWO PREHISTORIC REVOLUTIONS.[3]

A. The Patrician Curiate Assembly gives Way to a Centuriate Assembly.

295. The Military "Census of Servius."—The first great political change (admission of the plebs to citizenship) grew out of military reform, or at least was intimately connected with it. Originally, the army was made up of "the Roman people"—the patricians and their immediate clients. The plebeians paid a tax, probably, but as they grew in importance, the state

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[1] But cf. Pelham, 28.

[2] On these institutions, see Mommsen, bk. i. ch. vi. In particular, read pp. 80–85, on the king, and 96–102, on the senate.

[3] The first two radical changes, as in Hellas, were the expulsion of the kings and the entrance of the plebs into the political city.

needed also their personal services. Tradition ascribes the new military census to Servius, the "sixth king." Rome was a city of some eighty thousand or a hundred thousand people (about the size of Athens in the Persian wars), with a fighting population of perhaps twenty thousand free males. Eighteen hundred of the wealthiest of these were called upon to serve as cavalry (equites, or knights), and all other landowners, plebeians as well as patricians, were divided into five classes, according to the equipment they were able to furnish, for service in the infantry. At this time some eight thousand (the first class) had property enough to serve in full armor. They made the front ranks of the phalanx or legion. Behind them stood the second and third classes, less completely equipped, but still ranking as "heavy-armed." The poorer fourth and fifth classes served as light-armed troops. Then all the free non-landowners were enrolled in a mass, to follow the army, if necessary, as workmen or reserves.

Each of the five classes was subdivided into *centuries*, or companies of a hundred men each. Half of the centuries of each class were made up of the younger men (seventeen to forty-six years of age), who were expected to take the field at any time. The other half, made up of older men, formed the garrison of the city, or were called out only on special occasions. When the arrangement took its fixed form, there were one hundred and ninety-three of these centuries, — eighteen of knights, eighty of the first class, twenty in each of the second, third, and fourth classes, thirty in the fifth class, with four centuries of engineers and trumpeters distributed among the others, and with the mass of non-landowners, known as the "century of the proletariat."

296. The "Army" of Centuries becomes an "Assembly" of Centuries. — In early society, military burden and political privilege always tend to go together; and at Rome this new war host gradually took the place of the old curiate assembly for political purposes. It is often said that the gain to the

plebs was wholly unforeseen; but if the arrangement did originate with a "tyrant" like Servius, he probably counted upon the new political weight of his friends, the plebeians, to reduce the patrician power.

At all events, the process may be easily understood now. The king would find it both natural and convenient to refer questions of peace or war, and nominations of military officers, to this gathering. The witnessing and sanctioning of wills just before a battle, too, would fall to the centuries rather than to the curias. So gradually arose a *comitia centuriata*, even in peace. The curiate assembly of patricians remained only for religious exercises and for certain formal political ends of little practical moment. The change probably required a long period of time, but it was completed in the regal period or immediately afterward.[1]

297. Aristocratic Character of the Later Comitia Centuriata. — By this time the army had assumed another form, but the political gathering — the comitia centuriata — had crystallized in the original shape. This gave to wealth, and therefore to the patricians, a great advantage. As the population increased, the poorer classes grew faster than the rich; but they gained no more political weight, because the number of centuries was not changed, though the number of men within a century was. The centuries of the lower classes came to contain many more than a hundred each, while those of the knights and first class contained far less; but each century, full or skeleton, still counted one vote in the comitia. Thus the knights and the first class (ninety-eight of the hundred and ninety-three centuries), even after they had come to be a small minority, could outvote all the rest. They still voted first, too, just as when they stood in the front ranks for battle; and so oftentimes they must have settled a question without any vote at all by the other classes. And since the knights and the first class must

[1] Mommsen regards the change as resulting from the expulsion of the kings. Ihne regards that expulsion, on the other hand, as an aristocratic movement.

have remained largely patrician, it is clear that that body could still control legal action in any dispute between the two orders.

298. The Plebeian Gain. — None the less it was a great gain when the position of each individual was fixed not by birth and religion, but by his wealth. The first great barrier was broken down. The artificial arrangement of the centuries still prevented political equality; but it would prove easier to replace the comitia of centuries by a true popular assembly than it had been for the non-tribesmen to win their way to this beginning of political power.

B. Overthrow of the Kings.

299. The Older and Later Kingship. — Probably many more than seven kings ruled at Rome; and, in spite of the legends, scholars feel confident that the earliest kingship was priestly and that the military features grew in importance later; that is, "Numa must have come before Romulus." The last three kings very possibly were Etruscan conquerors (note to § 274), and the expulsion may have been partly the result of a Latin revival. They seem also to have been "tyrants," supported for a while by the non-citizen class against the patricians, and the expulsion was certainly in part an aristocratic revolution. The later Romans believed that the last Tarquin oppressed all classes in the state, and that the cruel deeds of his son finally roused the people to fury, so that they drove the family from Rome, abolished kingship, and in its place chose two consuls for a year. This revolution is ascribed to the year 510 B.C. — the same year in which the Peisistratids were finally driven from Athens; but while the Greek story is strictly historical, the Roman is mere legend, with no evidence by which to judge the truth of its details. Certainly these details contain too many absurdities and inconsistencies for us to accept them as history.[1]

[1] See Ihne, *Early Rome*, 79–81.

300. The "Expulsion" an Aristocratic Movement and a Gradual Change. — The later Romans hated the name king bitterly, and the feeling was created largely by the stories of Tarquin's cruelty; but probably these stories were the inventions of aristocratic annalists long after the "expulsion." Certainly "king" did not at once become a detested name. At Rome, as at Athens (§§ 107 and 117), there remained a king-priest (*rex sacrorum*), whose wife also kept the title of *regina* (queen); the legends themselves, too, represent another Tarquin (Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus) as one of the first two consuls; nor is there any evidence that at first these consuls ruled only for one year. All that we really know is that in prehistoric times the aristocratic patricians in some way reduced and finally abolished kingship. As Professor Pelham puts it: —

"The struggle was doubtless longer and sharper, and the new constitution more gradually shaped, than tradition would have us believe. Possibly, too, this revolution at Rome was but part of a wide-spreading wave of change in Latium and central Italy, similar to that which in Greece swept away the old heroic monarchies." — *Outlines of Roman History*, 41.

So, too, Professor Seeley: —

"The establishment of the consulate is but a vague tradition without chronology. The later Romans, when they read of consuls, could scarcely avoid thinking of *annual* consuls, such as they themselves were accustomed to. . . . [But] when we look closely at the story we find that there is absolutely no reason to suppose that the first magistrates after the flight of Tarquin held office for only one year. . . . Collatinus seems to have succeeded by hereditary right; whether or not he was called *consul*, it is probable that his term of office was not yet limited. [There are suggestions in the legends of another revolution to get rid of him.] Then perhaps by a series of changes, the monarchy shrank up into the annual consulate of later times, which indeed in form and ceremonial always continued to resemble monarchy." — *Introduction to Political Science*, 233–234.

Special Reports. — 1. A comparison of the centuriate organization with Solon's classes (note the contrasts). 2. Legends connected with the expulsion of the Tarquins: *i.e.* Lake Regillus; Brutus and his sons; Horatius at the Bridge; the Porsena stories.

VII. EFFECTS OF THE DECLINE OF KINGSHIP ON THE EXECUTIVE — THE CONSULSHIP.

301. The Consuls and the Royal Imperium. — Rome modified rather than abolished its kingship.[1] The priestly function and the sacred name *rex* were strictly separated from the executive and judicial power; that executive office became more truly elective; it was divided between two men, and their term was finally limited to one year. But for that year the new consuls[2] were "kings," each in theory holding, nearly in full, the old *imperium*. They called and dissolved assemblies at will, with sole right of proposing measures, nominating magistrates, and regulating debate; they filled vacancies in the senate; they ruled the city and commanded in war.

302. The Chief Limitations in Practice were the following: either consul might absolutely forbid or cancel any act of the other; both became responsible to the centuries and the courts when they laid down their office; and their short term made them dependent upon the advice of the permanent and dignified senate, against whose will it finally became practically impossible for them to act in important matters.

303. Minor Checks: Independence of the Quaestors and the Right of Appeal. — Two other limitations quickly followed.

a. The kings had had assistant judges and treasurers, called *quaestors*. After the revolution, these officers were at first appointed by the consuls; but after 447 B.C. they were elected annually, and in theory they became wholly independent of consular control. In future time the power of the consuls was to be further diminished by the creation of other officers to take over other parts of their functions.

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[1] A people of marked political genius (like the Romans or English) do not willingly cut loose from their past, but grow out of it.

[2] At first they were called joint *praetors*, or leaders in war; cf. the Athenian *polemarch* (§ 117).

b. The kings as judges had possessed power of life and death, without appeal unless they themselves chose to consult the people. The consuls kept this power in the field, but, in theory, not in the city. One of the early consuls, *Valerius Publicola*, carried a law that an appeal must be allowed to the centuries in cases of condemnation to death. This *Valerian Law*, when observed, was the great safeguard of the citizens against consular tyranny; but it was frequently a dead letter and had to be many times reënacted before it became unquestioned practice. At first, moreover, it applied only to patricians.

304. The Final Check: the Political Temperance of the People and Leaders. — All these restrictions upon consular power were valid only through the force of public opinion and the self-control of the consuls. While in office the consuls were legally responsible to no one; and neither of them could be lawfully checked by any one save the other, even if he broke all customs and laws.

This held good, indeed, as to the term of office. At first, in legal theory, the consuls voluntarily abdicated at the end of the year; if they refused to lay down office, their acts continued to be valid. Like the old kings, too, they themselves nominated their successors. By proposing only two names to the centuries, they could compel the election of their nominees. Later, the centuries secured greater freedom of election, but their choice had still to be ratified: the old curiate assembly alone could confer the imperium, and the consuls could refuse to place before it the choice of the centuries. Commonly they felt constrained to submit to the popular will, but at crises they sometimes resumed their older power and even refused to permit the centuries to vote for undesirable candidates, or declined to record votes given for them. Such usurpation, however, was very rare; and, in the few cases when the consuls did resort to extreme measures of this kind, the deliberate judgment of the people seems usually to have indorsed

them. The fact is a striking evidence of political moderation and capacity.

305. The Dictatorship: a Revival of the Kingship to meet a Crisis. — In time of peril, the divided consular power, with its possibility of a deadlock, might easily be fatal. The escape was found in temporary revivals of the old kingship under a new name. Either consul, after consulting the senate, without popular vote, might appoint a *dictator*. This officer was absolute master of Rome, save that his term of office could not exceed six months. The Valerian Law became invalid against his decisions; he had power of life and death in the city as in the army; and at the expiration of his term he was not legally responsible for his acts. He could not, however, nominate a successor. Except for this and for the limit of time, he was a close copy of the old king.

VIII. EFFECT OF THE REVOLUTION UPON THE SENATE.

306. The Senate, so far as we know, was not *directly* affected by the expulsion of the kings; but of course it held a very different relation to a one-year consul, whose highest ambition would be to get finally into its ranks, from that it had held to a life-king jealous of its power. Its advice grew more constant and imperative, until it became the real directing body in the state, however much this fact was obscured by the imposing imperium of the consuls.

IX. THE DEBT TO REGAL ROME.

307. The contributions of earlier Rome to the republic may be summed up: —

a. The Roman city, with its principle of absorption and federation.

b. The Roman character — dignified, legal-minded, heroically devoted to the state.

c. A religion shaped into an admirable political instrument.
d. The family, with its peculiar *patria potestas.*
e. The corresponding *imperium* of the two annual consuls.
f. The basing of political privilege upon wealth in the comitia centuriata.

The political democracy was imperfect, and the plebeians had still much to desire in social, economic, and political equality. This is the key to the history of the early republic.

For Further Reading. — References for the more important or difficult points have been given in footnotes or by Divisions.

1. For Divisions I.–V. (Oldest Roman Society), students should read also Tighe, chs. ii. and iii., and Fowler's *City State*, chs. ii. and iii., which was referred to at a like stage in Greek history. Granrud's *Roman Constitutional History* is an excellent handbook for all constitutional details, and should be accessible to all students. Advanced students will wish to compare in full the complete treatments in Mommsen, bk. i. chs. v., xi., xii., and index, and in Ihne's *Early Rome*, chs. v.–ix., and *History*, I. ch. xiii.

2. For Division VI. (the Early Revolutions): On the centuriate organization, Ihne, *Early Rome*, 132–140. Advanced students will consult Ihne's and Mommsen's histories, and note the difference between their views. As usual, there is a brilliant treatment in Coulanges, 360–371 and 379–387. Coulanges (324–330) has also an interesting chapter showing how the legends of the expulsion of the kings may be rationalized. The discussion in Ihne's *History* is more scientific.

3. For Division VII., advanced students may compare Mommsen, bk. ii. ch. i., and Ihne's *History*, bk. ii. ch. i., or *Early Rome*, ch. x.–xii.

CHAPTER III.

CLASS STRUGGLES IN THE REPUBLIC, 510–367 B.C.

I. CHARACTER OF THE PERIOD.

308. The First Century and a Half of the Republic was a period of stern internal conflict between patricians and plebeians. Torn and distracted by the struggle, Rome made little gain externally, and indeed, until toward the close of the epoch, lost much territory she had held under the kings.

The peculiar mark of the long internal struggle was the absence of extreme violence. Compared with the vehement class conflicts in Greek cities, with their frequent bloody revolutions and counter-revolutions, the contest in Rome was carried on "with a calmness, deliberation, and steadiness that corresponded to the firm, persevering, sober, practical Roman character"; and when the victory of the plebs was once won, the result was correspondingly complete and permanent.

II. THE POSITION OF THE CLASSES AFTER 510 B.C.

309. Rome becomes a Patrician Oligarchy. — *The overthrow of the kings was in no sense a democratic movement. It left Rome an oligarchy, and depressed the plebs.* The later kings had leaned upon the lower orders. In consequence, they had sought to strengthen the plebeians by grants of public land, by securing them justice, and possibly by aiding them in the development of political power. The aristocratic revolutionists may have bought popular support at first by some superficial concessions,[1] but the plebeians soon found themselves the losers by the change, politically and economically.

[1] Livy says that plebeians were admitted to the senate to fill the vacancies created by the tyrants. Mommsen adopts this view, and speaks as if they

310. Political Loss to the Plebs. — No direct attack was made upon their political rights, it is true; but none was needed. The plebeians could control only a small minority of votes in the assembly of the centuries, they could hold no office, and they had no way even to get a desired measure considered. They could vote at best only upon laws proposed by patrician magistrates, and they could help elect only patrician officers who had been nominated by other patricians. The patrician senate, too, had a final veto upon any election or vote of the mixed centuries, and, in the last resort, the patrician consuls could always fall back upon the patrician augurs to prevent a possible plebeian victory by an appeal to religious superstition. Thus the immediate political loss to the plebs was very real, though it was wholly indirect. So far as the multitude were concerned, the selfish despotism of a jealous class had taken the place of the enlightened despotism of a paternal king.

311. Loss of Standing at Law. — A like result followed in cases at law. The kings had found it to their interest to see justice done the plebs, but now law became again exclusively a patrician possession, guarded by religion. It was unwritten, and to the plebs almost unknown; and it was easy, therefore, in any dispute with a plebeian, for a patrician, before patrician judges, to take shameful advantage of its intricacies and "fictions."

312. Economic Loss and Danger to the Plebs. — The proof as to economic conditions is not so clear; but it appears probable that the victorious patricians, with their tremendous political advantages, sought to reduce the mass of free but poor plebeians to economic slavery — to bring them back again to the position of *clients* dependent upon patrician patrons.[1] The

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continued to sit there, but Ihne successfully controverts any such theory (*History*, I. 136–138, and, better, *Early Rome*, 127–130).

[1] Coulanges, 387–389.

savage laws regarding debt[1] offered opportunity. The plebeians were more liable than formerly to fall into the clutches of the law, because the patricians now robbed them of their part in the public grazing lands, and because of the greater peril from hostile invasion to which Roman farmers were exposed for a time after the expulsion of the kings.

a. When Rome conquered a hostile city, even if she did not destroy it, she took away a half or a third of its territory. The kings sometimes settled colonies of landless plebeians upon this land (cf. Athenian cleruchies); sometimes part of the plow land was divided between the soldiers who had won it; but the greater portion of such new territory became a common pasture ground. It belonged to the state, and a small tax was paid for the right to graze cattle upon it.

Strictly, even then only the patricians had the right to its use, but the kings had extended the privilege to the plebs also. The patricians now resumed their exclusive right, and so reduced to painful straits the poorer plebeians who had eked out a scanty income from their small farms by such aid. To make matters worse, the patrician officers ceased to collect the grazing tax. Thus the public land was enjoyed by the patricians as private property, without purchase or tax, while, as a result, the tax on plebeian farms had to be increased, to supply the deficiency in the treasury. At the same time, the sending out of colonies of landless plebeians was stopped, partly because little land was won now for a long time, and partly because the patricians insisted upon keeping for themselves any that was secured.[2]

b. The conditions of warfare also bore more heavily upon the small farmer than upon the great landlord. He was called away frequently to battle; he had no servants to till his fields in his absence; and his possessions were more exposed to hostile forays than were the more strongly fortified holdings of his greater neighbor. Thus he might return to find his crops ruined by delay or his homestead in ashes, and he could no longer apply to the king — the patron of the plebs — for the old assistance.

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[1] Where there were several creditors they could cut up the body of the debtor if they chose. This provision was found even in the Twelve Tables (§ 321), and no doubt gave the suggestion for Shylock's vengeance in the *Merchant of Venice*. This interpretation of the passage in the Twelve Tables is disputed, however, by some recent scholars.

[2] An excellent brief treatment of the public land is given in Tighe, 82–88. See, too, Mommsen, I. 343–346.

313. The Result: a Contest between the Orders. — Thus, more and more the plebeians were forced to borrow tax money from patrician money lenders or to get advances of seed corn and cattle from a neighboring patrician landlord. The debtor's land and person were both mortgaged for payment; and, on failure to pay, the patrician courts gave the creditor possession. The plebeian debtor became a client, or serf; or, if he refused to accept this result, he was cast into a dungeon, loaded with chains, and torn with stripes.

Against this condition the plebeians rose in a struggle that filled a century and a half, and they came soon to claim not only economic, but also social and political equality: that is, their share in public lands; right of intermarriage with patricians, and an equal knowledge of laws; and eligibility to all offices, even religious offices of political value. It is roughly correct to say that the first fifty years went to a struggle for economic security; but that, finding this ineffectual, the plebeians devoted themselves for the next hundred years to securing political rights.[1]

III. STEPS IN THE STRUGGLE.

A. The Tribunes of the Plebs.

314. The First Secession of the Plebs. — In ten chapters Livy gives a graphic story of the first clash between the orders.[2]

The plebs, driven to despair, refuse to serve in a war against the Volscians, until the consul wins them over by freeing all debtors from prison. But when the army returns victorious, the other consul refuses

[1] Two views exist as to the original uprising. The older and more common one holds that the plebeians revolted to escape being enslaved for debt almost as a class. The latter holds that in so simple a society so much debt was impossible, and that the plebeians rose to secure protection against the arbitrary despotism of patrician magistrates in individual cases. See Mommsen (I. 345–346) for the first view; Ihne presents the second idea (*Early Rome*, 129, 141, 142, and *History*, I. 147–149).

[2] Dionysius gives it in sixty-eight longer chapters. There is a good abstract in Ihne, I. 144–149, and a longer one in Lewis, II. 73–84.

to recognize his colleague's acts; he arrests the debtors again, and enforces the law with merciless cruelty. On a renewal of the war, the betrayed plebs again decline to fight; but finally Manius Valerius (of the great "Valerian house that loved the people well") is made dictator, and him they trust. Victory again follows; but Valerius is unable to get the consent of the senate to his proposed changes in the law. So the plebeian army, still in array outside the gates, rises in revolt and marches away to a hill across the Anio, some three miles from Rome, where, they declare, they will build a Rome of their own. This would have meant the conquest of both the old and new cities by neighboring foes; so a compromise is patched up, and the plebs return from the "Sacred Mount."

315. The Tribunes and their Veto, 493 B.C. — The letter of the law was not changed, but the plebeians had secured means to prevent its execution in any given case. Two plebeian tribunes, it was agreed, should be chosen each year; the person of these officers was declared inviolable, and a curse was invoked upon the man who should interfere with their acts. For the protection of their class, they were given a portion of the old consular veto; that is, they could absolutely stop any magistrate in any executive act, and so prevent the arrest or punishment of any individual plebeian. But this veto could be exercised only within the city and by the tribunes in person.[1] Hence a tribune's door was left always unlocked, so that a plebeian in trouble might have instant access.

316. Subsequent Growth of the Tribuneship. — In consequence of later disturbances, the number of tribunes was increased to five, and finally to ten, so as to afford more efficient protection in all needful cases. Their power also grew, until they came to forbid not only executive acts, but likewise the putting of a vote in the centuries or in the senate, so that they could bring the whole government to a standstill.

"Absolute prohibition was in the most stern and abrupt fashion opposed to absolute command; and the quarrel was settled (?) by recognizing and regulating the discord." — MOMMSEN, I. 354, 355.

[1] It is notable that this arrangement was not established by *law* but by a *treaty* between the two orders, as if they had been separate states. (See Ihne, *Early Rome*, 142, 143.)

Besides this power of impeding action in the state (which was their characteristic function), the tribunes came to have also a terrible judicial power. It seems probable that even before the treaty of the Sacred Mount the plebs had had their own chosen rulers to act in plebeian gatherings as the consuls did in the comitia of the centuries — proposing rules and impeaching offenders against them.[1] Now the plebeian tribunes came to accuse in this way the patricians also, — even consuls, — and to arrest and fine them, with appeal only to the assembly of the plebeians, where patricians could expect little favor.

B. Rise of the Plebeian Assembly.

317. Ancient Organization of the Plebeians. — It is plain that the plebeians must have possessed some such organization as has just been referred to, with regular meetings and officers, or they could never have waged the long constitutional struggle in so orderly a manner; but the matter is very obscure. Probably the organization was based upon certain local divisions called "tribes." At some early date, the city and territory of Rome had been divided into twenty-one wards, or tribes,[2] for military taxation and for the levy. The plebs, in the absence of a complete gentile organization, seem to have availed themselves of these local units. In some way, a plebeian "assembly of tribes" grew up and became a real governing body for the plebeians, though still without any sanction from the state.[3]

318. This Plebeian Assembly wins Recognition in the State. — The plebeian officers of the "tribes" had now been put alongside the patrician consuls. The next logical step was

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[1] See Ihne, *History*, I. 183–187, or *Early Rome*, 143, 144.

[2] These local tribes of course had no connection with the three blood tribes. (Cf. the tribes of Cleisthenes, § 135.) This institution also is attributed to Servius.

[3] For conflicting views as to the original nature of the assembly, see Ihne, *Early Rome*, 144–147, or *History*, I. 183–185, 206, 207, and Mommsen, I. 359, 360.

to set the plebeian assembly alongside the mixed centuriate assembly. The patricians seem to have provoked the struggle, by trying to control the election of tribunes, — perhaps by bringing it into the assembly of the centuries,[1] — and by endeavoring to prevent the plebeians from holding their separate meetings, which were now becoming a threat to the patrician state. A bitter contest of twenty years was closed in 471 B.C. by the victory of the plebs. The tribune Publilius Volero secured the consent of the senate to a decree known as the *Publilian Law*. This legalized the old plebeian organization. It guaranteed to the plebeian tribal assembly the right to elect the tribunes and to pass decrees (*plebiscita*) which should have the force of law upon members of the plebs. This power was soon to be extended so that the decrees of the plebeian assembly should become equal to those of the comitia centuriata in all matters (see the Horatian Law, §§ 322–323).

319. The Result a Double State; Violence over Agrarian Questions.[2] — Thus the first struggle of the plebs for admission into the state had set up instead a double state — a plebeian state over against the patrician state, each with its own assembly and leaders, with no arbiter between the two and no check upon civil war except mutual moderation. The device was clumsy, and could not have been worked at all by a people of low political capacity. Even with the Romans, it led during the next few years to violence, both legal and illegal. Street fights between the orders took place; consuls and leading patricians were driven into banishment, and the tribune Genucius was assassinated by patrician daggers. *Spurius Cassius*, the first patrician to dare espouse the cause of the people, fell a victim to his order. He had served Rome gloriously in war and in diplomacy; but now, when as consul he proposed a

[1] For theories as to the election of tribunes just after 493 B.C., see Ihne, *History*, I. 146 and 184–187. Advanced students can look up the vexed question in Mommsen's *Forschungen*, I. 185 ff.

[2] Mommsen, I. 354–361.

reform in the selfish patrician administration of the public lands, the patricians accused him of aiming at tyranny, and he was put to death (according to one story, by the simple judgment of his father). In like manner, two other citizens, *Spurius Maelius*, and, later (384 B.C.), *Manlius*, who had saved the Capitol itself from the Gauls (§ 330), fell before like accusations when they attempted to relieve the distress of the people.[1] None the less, the plebeians made some small gains even in the first years. Some colonies of poor citizens were established on the public lands, and in 466 B.C. the Aventine district was parceled out into building lots for landless plebeians in the city. The next important step, however, requires a separate section.

C. The Decemvirs.[2]

320. The Plebs demand Written Laws; the Two Boards of Decemvirs. — In 462, the assembly of the tribes, at the suggestion of their tribune Terentilius, asked for the appointment of a commission to reduce the laws to writing. This reasonable demand aroused a furious patrician opposition; but after ten years' agitation it was agreed to set aside both consuls and tribunes for a year, and to intrust the government to a board of ten dictators (decemvirs), who should codify the laws. Both plebeians and patricians were eligible to the office, but the patricians secured all the places in the election in 451 B.C. The work was not completed, however; and the next year *Appius Claudius*, one of the first decemvirs, joined the plebeian party and secured his own reëlection with several plebeian colleagues.

[1] Special reports upon these stories and upon that of Coriolanus and his banishment. The Maelius story is noteworthy for its connection with the Cincinnatus legend. Mommsen discredits much of all these anecdotes. It is possible, but not probable, that these men were demagogues aiming at regal power.

[2] Cf. the Athenian demands, § 124. The story of Claudius and Virginius has become so classic in literature that it should be known by the student. But the criticism briefly indicated in §§ 321–322 is based upon the views of all critical scholars; see Ihne, I. 192–199, and *Early Rome*, 175.

321. The Patrician Counter-Revolution. — From this time the story becomes obscure and contradictory. It seems probable that the patricians put Claudius to death as a traitor to their order; and that they then restored the consulship, but refused to restore the tribuneship — perhaps on the ground that writing down the laws had made that office unnecessary. Moreover, they added some harsh laws to the first decemvir code, making up in all the famous *Twelve Tables*.[1] Later patrician inventions obscure all this, and represent the overthrow of the decemvirs as the work of a plebeian rising against Claudius, who, it was said, claimed the free maid Virginia as a slave girl.

322. Plebeian Secession and Final Gains. — A revolt certainly took place, but it was directed against the usurping patricians. Once more the plebeians rose in arms and withdrew to the Sacred Hill to secure their rights. As a result, besides the written law of the Twelve Tables, the tribunes were restored, and even given seats outside the senate door, whence they could shout out their veto upon any action by that body; the old Valerian right of appeal in capital cases was extended to plebeians also; and the plebeian assembly, somewhat modified, was solemnly recognized as a sovereign assembly of the Roman people, able legally to bind the *whole people* by its decisions, subject, of course, like the centuriate assembly, to the senate's veto.

This new *comitia tributa* was soon to become the most important of the popular assemblies. It was at this time made to consist of all landowners, — patricians and plebeians, — organized in territorial "tribes." Each tribe voted as a unit, and, in determining its vote, each man within it had an equal voice, so that the plebeians held an overwhelming control. The old tribal assembly, of plebeians only, is known after this as the "council of the plebs"; it contained all plebeians, landowners or not, but it ceased now to have any political importance.

These two new points regarding the appeal and the assembly

[1] Special report: Mommsen, I. 364; Tighe, 96–98.

of tribes were embodied in the *Valerio-Horatian law of 449*, so-called from the consuls of that year.

323. Significance of the Result. — The real advance by the plebs lay in putting the decrees of the comitia tributa on a level with the laws of the centuriate assembly. The growing plebeian state had now won full equality with the patrician state. There remained to fuse the two. For this, the new power of the plebs was an efficient instrument. Four years later (445 B.C.), a plebiscite, sanctioned by the senate, legalized *mixed marriages* between plebeians and patricians, so providing for the gradual social fusion of the two orders. In the same year began the last but longest stage of the conflict — an eighty-eight years' struggle for admission to the consulate, that is, for the *political* fusion of the orders.

D. Admission to the Consulship.

324. The First Step: Creation of Consular Tribunes.—A plebiscite of 445 B.C. decreed that the people be allowed to elect a plebeian for one of the consuls. This was evaded by the senate. That body, however, yielded to a compromise. It was resolved to elect no consuls, but instead to choose *military tribunes with consular power* — this office to be open to men of either order.

325. Continued Patrician Resistance. — But the patricians had not given up. They had "saved the office of consul from pollution," and they fell back on two shrewd devices to cheat the plebs for a time of what remained of their victory.

a. With the old stronghold threatened, they prepared an inner fortress into which they could retire. A new patrician office was created to take over the more sacred and more important portion of the consuls' duty: two *censors* were added for each five-year period, for moral oversight and control. They exercised very important powers: they revised the lists of citizens and of the senate, and appointed to vacancies in the

latter body; by their simple order, too, they could exclude a citizen from the list, or degrade a senator.[1]

b. But the patricians had not really surrendered the consulship. It had been reserved to the senate to decide each year whether consuls or consular tribunes should be elected. This power was used to secure the election of consuls (always patrician, of course) twenty times out of the next thirty-five years. Still further, when consular tribunes were to be chosen, the patrician influence in the centuries, together with their advantages in manipulating auspices (Mommsen, I. 377), saved the election to their order every time for almost half a century.

326. The Final Victory of the Plebs: the Licinian Rogations, 367 B.C. — In 400, 399, and 396 B.C., however, the plebeians won the elections, and thereafter never lost ground. The invasion of the Gauls in 390 B.C. (§ 330) set aside party struggle for a time; but in 377 B.C. began the final campaign. The losses in war seem to have borne hard upon the poorer plebeians, and to have made them more anxious for economic than for political reform. However, the wealthier leaders, already connected with patrician families by marriage and looking forward to personal political promotion, united the whole plebeian body on a group of demands. These were proposed by the tribune Licinius Stolo, and are known as the *Licinian Rogations.*

The three most important were: (1) that the office of consul be restored, one consul at least always to be a plebeian; (2) that no one citizen should hold more than five hundred jugera (an acre is nearly two jugera) of the common lands in inclosure, or pasture upon the open public lands more than one hundred cattle and five hundred sheep; (3) that payment of debts

[1] On the censors, read Ihne, *Early Rome*, 184–189. Either censor, quite in accord with Roman genius, could veto action by the other. Their tremendous power was used with moderation and not to any considerable degree for party ends. The new office was needed, no doubt, in any case. It is an excellent illustration of the tendency to "differentiation of function" that marks political development; but it came at just this time for the special reason noted.

might be deferred for three years, and that interest already paid should be deducted from the principal.

This last measure could only be excused from its necessity; but the land acts, it should be understood, were not confiscation. Like the earlier attempts of Spurius Cassius, they were an effort to rescue what was legally and morally the property of all from patrician squatters.

Ten years of bitter wrangling followed. The plebs reëlected their tribune and passed the rogations anew each year; the senate vetoed them; the tribunes forbade all elections of patrician magistrates and left the state without a government, though, in the peril of an invasion, they subsequently receded from this extreme ground; the patricians offered to concede the economic demands, hoping thus to buy off the poorer plebeians; but the able leadership of Licinius held the party together to insist on the full programme; and in 367 B.C. the senate gave way and the rogations became law.

327. Political Fusion Completed, 367–300 B.C. — The long struggle was practically over, and the body of the patricians soon accepted the result with good grace. It is characteristic of their political sense that they made no attempt at counter-revolution. Just at first they tried again to save something from the wreck by instituting a third, and patrician, praetor-consul — who was now called *the praetor* — for supreme judicial control in the city; but all such devices were in vain.[1] Plebeian consuls could nominate other plebeian officers. Plebeians had already won admission to the quaestorship; now they successively became dictator in 356 B.C., censor in 351 B.C., and praetor in 337 B.C. In 300 B.C. even the sacred colleges of pontiffs and augurs were thrown open. Appointments to the senate were commonly made now from those who

[1] The consul had had three functions, religious, civil, and military. As the plebs gained ground, the patricians first gave the religious duties to the censor, and now the chief civil powers to the praetor, intending to share with the plebs only the military office.

had held office, and so that body also finally became plebeian; or, rather, the old distinction died out after the year 300 B.C., and for practical, and especially for political, purposes is no more heard of.[1]

For Further Reading. — Mommsen, I. 341–394; Ihne, I. 127–152, 175–226, 255–262, 302–334, and *Early Rome*, 132–151 and 165–190.

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[1] It is not uncommon to say that the struggle lasted until the *Hortensian Law* (see § 345 *c*), but that reform had reference to an altogether new aristocratic movement and had little connection with the old plebeian-patrician contest. Some writers wish to regard the Eupatrids at Athens as equivalent to Roman patricians. The name suggests such a comparison. In that case, the Solonian reform would have consisted largely in admitting the plebeians into the Eupatrid organization. There is something to be said for this view, but our knowledge is too scanty to allow us to accept it against the statements of the ancient writers, who regarded the non-Eupatrids as mainly Attic tribesmen.

CHAPTER IV.

THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY, 367–266 B.C.

I. EARLIER BEGINNINGS — BEFORE 367 B.C.

328. Gains in the Regal Period, and the Reaction to 449 B.C. — Details of the early wars are all colored by later patriotic invention,[1] but the general trend of events is fairly clear. Under the kings Rome had conquered widely, but after 510 B.C. the Latin towns became independent again and much territory also was lost to the Etruscans. For the next sixty years, indeed, Rome fought for life, — hostile Etruscan, Volscian, and Sabine armies appearing often under her very walls. In 493 B.C., it is true, the Latin League was again bound to Rome by treaty on equal terms, and so an important bulwark provided against the Volscians and Aequians of the southern hills;[2] but the saving forces in these critical years were due neither to Rome's diplomacy nor valor, but to certain unconscious allies who broke the threatening Etruscan power, — Gauls from the north, Samnites in Campania, and the great tyrants of Syracuse who just at this time (§ 217) shattered the Etruscan naval superiority.

[1] Special reports: the legends of Coriolanus, Cincinnatus, and Camillus, with modern criticisms; the Roman "triumph."

[2] This important treaty, and another just after with the Hernicans, are ascribed to Spurius Cassius (§ 319).

329. The Slow Gain after 449 B.C. — After the reforms of the decemviral period (when the bitterest internal dissensions were past) Rome began to make slow gains of territory. Insensibly she became again the president and real mistress of the Latin League; but still it was not until 396 B.C., after fourteen long wars, that she subdued *Veii*, her ancient Etruscan rival, only a few hours' walk from her gates.[1]

330. A Brief Interruption: Rome sacked by the Gauls, 390 B.C. — Six years later the city was again in peril of annihilation. A horde of Gauls, under the leader *Brennus*, who had already overrun Etruria, utterly defeated the Roman army at the Allia (twelve miles from the walls) and cut it off from the city. Fortunately, the undisciplined barbarians squandered three days in pillage, and so gave the Romans time to save the state. The sacred fire was hastily removed, the helpless inhabitants fled, and a small garrison, under the soldier *Marcus Manlius* (§ 319), undertook the defense of the Capitoline citadel. The Gauls sacked the rest of the city without resistance, and held it seven months; but no doubt their ill regulated host was ravaged by the deadly malaria of the Roman plain (which has more than once been Rome's best protection), and in any case they had little skill or patience for a regular siege; so, finally, they withdrew, on the payment of an immense ransom.[2]

Rome recovered rapidly, and the slow territorial growth up to this time contrasts strikingly with the swift advance that was to come in the next hundred years. The difference was due mainly to the difference in internal conditions. *The long strife of classes closed in 367 B.C. The process of amalgamation that had originally fused the three separate hill towns into*

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[1] Rome began here the merciless and criminal policy which she was to show toward many rival capitals in time to come, by exterminating the population and laying waste the site of the city.

[2] Special reports: the sack of the city; the geese of the capitol; Brennus and his sword at the scales; the later fiction of the Roman victory, to save Roman pride.

the patrician state had at length fused this patrician and the newer plebeian state into one Roman people; and now this united Rome turned to her proper work of uniting Italy.

II. THE REAL ADVANCE, 367–266 B.C.

331. Latium and Southern Etruria. — The Latin towns, already alarmed at the encroachments of Rome, had seized the opportunity of the Gallic invasion to throw off Roman leadership. Various wars followed; several cities were captured, and some of them incorporated in the Roman state; for the rest, the league was restored, but in a new form with Rome for acknowledged mistress.

In like manner the revolts in Etruria were easily put down, and the southern districts were annexed as Roman territory. On both sides the new acquisitions were garrisoned with Roman colonies (§ 336). Thus the sway of Rome reached over all the lowlands from the Ciminian forest in central Etruria (the natural boundary on the north) to the Liris River, which separated Latium from the fields of Campania. Rome was recognized, too, as the natural champion of the other lowland states against the rude, aggressive highlanders; and from this fact came her next extension of power.

332. The Occupation of Campania (the First Samnite War, 343 B.C.). — A portion of the hill Samnites, some time before, had reconquered fertile Campania from Etruscans and Greeks. They had themselves taken on the lowland civilization, however, and were now attacked in turn by the other Samnites of the mountains. In these straits they appealed to Rome for aid, and it was thus as the champion of civilization that Rome began her real career of conquest. The mountain tribes were repulsed, and in return the Campanian cities of the plain recognized Roman suzerainty.

333. The Latins finally Subdued. — But now that the Samnites were no longer dangerous, the Latin allies of Rome, ill content with the recent settlement, broke into the great Latin revolt

of 338 B.C. The rising was crushed, and the ancient Latin League was dissolved. Its public land became Roman; more of its cities (§ 331) were forced to enter the Roman state, their citizens being listed in the Roman "tribes," and the remaining cities, no longer permitted any relations with each other, were bound to Rome as subject allies by individual treaties.[1]

334. Struggle for Supremacy with the Samnites. — The leadership of central Italy now lay between this consolidated city-state of the lowlands and the ruder but vigorous tribal state of the Samnites, who were widely spread over the southern Apennines. The two peoples were of like discipline and character, and not unequally matched; but Rome's chains of fortress colonies were to prove more than an offset for the Samnite mountain fortresses. The struggle began in 326 B.C. and lasted, with brief truces, to 290 B.C. The Samnites won one great victory at the *Caudine Forks*, capturing a whole Roman army; but they lost the fruits because the Romans basely refused to abide by the treaty through which their army had been released. Then the Samnites built up a great anti-Roman alliance, which soon came to count nearly all the peoples of Italy, together with the Cisalpine Gauls. But, using to the full the advantage of her central position, Rome beat her foes in detail; and at the close of the long conflict she had become mistress of all the true peninsula, except the Greek cities of the south.

335. Magna Graecia; Tarentum and the War with Pyrrhus. — Ten years later began the last war for territory in Italy. The Greek cities at this moment were harassed by neighboring mountaineers, and they called in Roman aid, as Campania had done sixty years before. Thus Roman suzerainty became established readily throughout the south, except in Tarentum. That great city sought help from *Pyrrhus*, the chivalrous king

[1] The original Latin League seems to have been a religious amphictyony, like those so common in Greece, before it became a political bond; and so now, after the dissolution of the political league, the ancient religious festivals were still celebrated by all Latins on the ruins of Alba Longa.

of Epirus and one of the most remarkable of the Greek military adventurers who arose after the death of Alexander. Pyrrhus had already reached Italy with a great armament. He had hoped to unite the cities of Magna Graecia and then to subdue Carthage, the ancient enemy of Hellenes in the west; that is, he planned to play in western Hellas and Africa the part already played by Alexander in eastern Hellas and Asia. He knew little of Rome; but at the call of Tarentum he found himself engaged as an Hellenic champion with this new power. He won some victories, chiefly through his elephants — a new heavy artillery to the Romans. Then most of southern Italy joined him, and he offered a favorable peace. Under the leadership of the aged and blind Appius Claudius, defeated Rome answered haughtily that she would treat with no invader *while he stood on Italian soil.* Pyrrhus chafed at the delay to his wider hopes, and finally hurried off to Sicily, leaving his victory incomplete. The steady Roman advance called him back, and a great Roman victory at *Beneventum* (475 B.C.) ruined his dream of empire and made Rome mistress of the Italy whose sovereignty she had just claimed so resolutely. By 269 B.C. the last resistance from the Greek cities had ceased; and then, in 266, Rome rounded off her work by the thorough conquest of that part of Cisalpine Gaul that lay south of the Apennines.

Coin of Pyrrhus, struck in Sicily.

For Further Reading. — The best compact treatment of the conquest of Italy is by Pelham, 68–97. Detailed accounts are given in Mommsen, and especially in Ihne. Students should read an excellent summary of Rome's method in Smith's *Rome and Carthage*, 27.

CHAPTER V.

UNITED ITALY UNDER ROMAN RULE.[1]

I. CLASSES OF POLITICAL COMMUNITIES.

A. The Roman State.

336. Extent and Classes. — The first broad political distinction in Italy was that between the *Roman state proper* and *its subjects*. The territory of Rome comprised one third the soil of Italy, and her citizens counted two hundred and ninety thousand of the one million adult free males. This meant a total Roman population of nearly one and a half million, beside slaves.

Of course these were not all residents of the central city. Rome had various "suburbs," — for the most part in Latium or in the bordering portions of Etruria and Campania. Some of these were *Roman colonies* which had been planted in rings about the central city as military posts; others were certain conquered communities which, without being removed to Rome, had been incorporated bodily into the state in full equality. This last had been the case finally with most of the Latin towns, the Sabine tribes, and some other cities in the neighborhood. A town so annexed was called a *municipium*. It became part of Rome for imperial matters, and kept its self-government for local concerns. The *municipia* represent a political advance, — a new contribution to empire-making. Athens had had cleruchies corresponding to the Roman colonies (§§ 133, 190), but the municipia mark a still more important step for-

[1] This chapter breaks the unity of the story of Roman expansion; but it is needful at this point to understand the internal character of the new Italian state, in order to understand the further expansion and its reaction.

ward. At a later date Rome was to extend the principle widely, and it has ever since remained a vital element in European civilization.

Besides the colonies and municipia, there were two other classes of citizens: many small hamlets of Romans were scattered over the remoter parts of Italy on the burgess-land; and there were a few *inferior municipia*, with the private, but not the public, rights of Romans (§ 338). This last class was said to possess a "passive" citizenship. In the next hundred years these communities all rose into the class of full citizens, or, by way of punishment for revolt, were degraded into the class of subject-praefectures (§ 340).

337. Organization in the Old "Tribes." — To suit this expansion of the state, the twenty-one Roman "tribes" were increased gradually to thirty-five, — four in the city, the rest in adjoining districts. At first these were strictly territorial divisions, and a man changed his "tribe" if he changed his residence. At the point we have reached, however, this was no longer true. The tribes had become conventional units. A man once enrolled remained a member, no matter where he lived, and his son after him; and a tribe had come to contain great numbers of citizens who never had lived within its *territorial* limits. The number thirty-five was left unchanged; but as the state expanded, new citizens were assigned once for all to a particular tribe (sometimes whole cities, far apart, to one tribe).

Each tribe kept its equal vote in the Assembly. The attendance of the majority of the members of a country tribe had already become physically impossible. Plainly, in the absence of representative institutions, the plan of citizenship did not admit of indefinite extension, if the citizens were to take a real part in the government.[1]

338. Rights and Obligations of Citizenship. — The important rights of each full citizen were: —

[1] On the vexed questions as to the tribes, advanced students may consult Mommsen, I. 395–400; Ihne, I. 448, 449; or *Early Rome*, 145–148 and 177–178.

a. Private: the right to acquire property under the protection of the Roman law in any of Rome's possessions (*commercium*); and the right of intermarriage in any Roman or subject community (*connubium*).

b. Public: the right to vote in the tribes on all matters of Roman and imperial policy; eligibility to any office; and appeal to the Assembly if condemned to death or bodily punishment.

By way of burdens, the citizens furnished half the army of Italy (far more than their numerical share), and paid all the *direct* taxes.

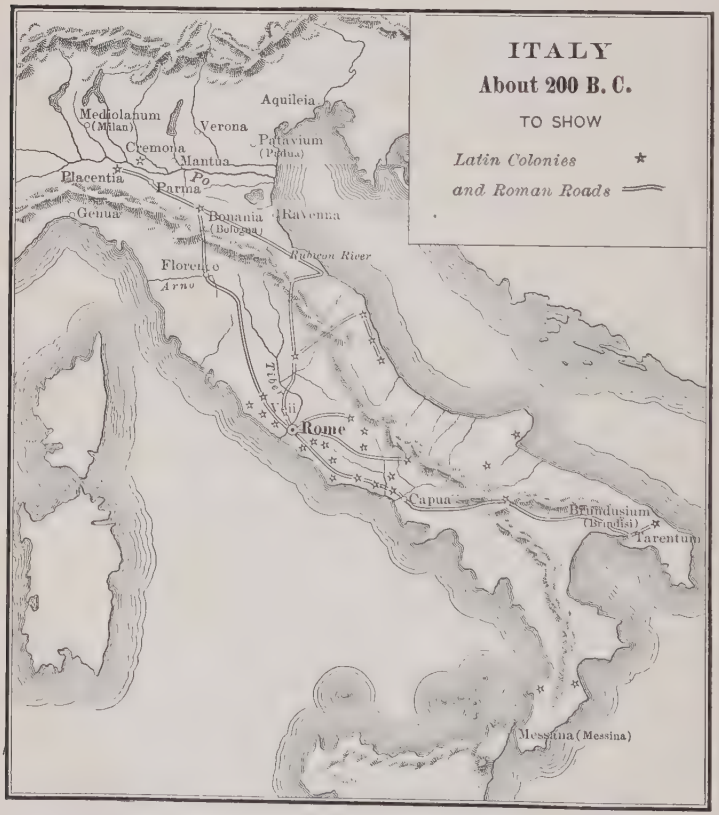
B. Political Classes in Subject-Italy.

Rome was not yet ready to give up the idea of a city state; and so, beyond a certain limit, all new acquisitions of territory were necessarily reduced to some form of subjection. Outside the Roman state was subject-Italy, in three main classes.

339. The Latin Colonies. — Highest in privilege among the subject communities stood the Latins. This name did not apply now to the old Latin towns (nearly all of which had become municipia), but to a new kind of colonies sent out by Rome after 338 B.C., as she extended her conquests far beyond Latium. Because of the distance, they were granted not citizenship, as were the older *Roman colonies*, but only the *Latin right*, based on the rights enjoyed by the towns of the Latin confederacy under the ancient alliance with Rome: that is, their citizens had the *private rights* of Romans; and they might acquire full *public rights* also, and become Roman citizens again in all respects, by removing to Rome and enrolling in one of the tribes. At first this removal was permitted to any member of such a town who left a son in his own city to represent him; but in the later colonies the privilege was restricted to those who had held some magistracy in the colony.

The poorer landless citizens of Rome had little political power at this time. They were enrolled all in one century, and in no tribe until 312 B.C., and then only in four of the thirty-five (§§ 295, 322, note, and

345). Thus they could well afford the slight sacrifice of citizenship that came from joining a Latin colony, in return for the material gain they secured as the aristocracy of a new settlement.



There were thirty-five of these colonies before the Carthaginian invasion of Italy, numbering originally from three hundred to six thousand male colonists each. They are notable in three respects: —

a. They were a chief instrument in *Romanizing Italy* in language and institutions. Surviving inscriptions show that

they copied the Roman city constitution, even to such names as consuls and tribunes.

b. From a military point of view they were *garrisons,* protecting the distant parts of the peninsula against revolt or invasion. An enemy could rarely assail their walls successfully; and he was rash indeed to pass on, leaving them to fall upon his rear.

c. Politically, they added a new element of *elasticity* to the rigid system of citizenship common in ancient states, making a link as they did between full citizens and permanent subjects.

340. The Class of Praefectures was small and the least enviable. It consisted of a few conquered towns too distant to permit incorporation in the city and too deep offenders to warrant them in asking either the Latin right or "alliance." They bore all the burdens of Roman citizenship, and some of them had part of the *private rights,* and so are easily confused with the "passive citizens"; but they alone of all cities in Italy had their government administered for them by *prefects* sent out from Rome (§ 336).

341. The Italian "Allies." — Most numerous of all the classes, and next to the Latins in privilege, stood the mass of subject Greeks, Italians, and Etruscans, under the general name of "Italian allies." These cities, it is true, differed greatly in condition, according to the terms of their respective treaties with Rome. None of them, however, had either the private or public rights of Romans, and they were isolated jealously one from another; but in general they bore few burdens and enjoyed local freedom and Roman protection.

C. Rome and her Subjects.

(*A Confederacy under a Queen-city.*)

342. Advantages and Restrictions of the Subjects. — No one of the subject cities had any one of the three great sovereign rights of making war, concluding treaties, or coining money. They did retain (with the exception of one small class) very

nearly complete self-government in other matters: each kept its own assembly, senate, and magistrates (with varying names); and, in general, each retained its own law and custom, and administered its own justice. They paid no tribute, except to provide and maintain their small share of troops for war. Thus, where Rome could not confer citizenship, she did, with rare insight and magnanimity, lessen burdens and leave local freedom. At the same time she bestowed order, tranquillity, and prosperity. Roman supremacy put a stop to intolerable endless and wasting feuds. The calamities of great wars, such as were to follow in the struggle for world-empire, strike our imagination; but after all they cause infinitely less suffering than the everlasting petty wars of neighbors, with incessant pillage and slaughter diffused everywhere. Moreover, so far as Italy was concerned, the theater of conflict thenceforth was to be mostly beyond her borders.

343. Power and Policy of Rome. — The citizens of the thirty-five Roman tribes were the sovereigns of Italy. None others possessed any of the imperial power. They, or their officers, decided for all Italy upon war and peace, made treaties, issued the only coinage permitted, and fixed the contingents which the subject cities must furnish for war.

It should be noted that there are two clearly marked phases to the Roman genius for rule, — one admirable, and the other at least effective.

a. Incorporation and Tolerance. — Rome grew strong first by a wise and generous incorporation of her conquests. With this strength, and with her discipline and possessions, she won still wider physical victories. And over these later subjects she won also spiritual dominion by her intelligence, justice, and firmness, and especially by a marvelous toleration for local customs and rights.

b. Jealousy and Isolation. — At the same time, she did strictly isolate the subject communities from each other. She dissolved all tribal confederacies; she took skillful advantage

of the grades of inferiority that she had created among her dependents to foment jealousies and to play off one class of communities against another; and likewise, within each city, she set class against class — on the whole favoring an aristocratic organization. In politics as in war, the policy of her statesmen was, "*Divide and conquer.*"

Thus the rule of Rome in Italy was not an absolute dominion, such as it was to be later over more distant conquests. The

View of the Appian Way To-day, with Ruins of the Aqueduct of Claudius in the Distance.

whole Italian stock had become consolidated under a leading city. In form, and to a great degree in fact, Italy was a confederacy; but it was a confederacy *with all the connecting lines radiating from Rome.* The allies had no connection with each other except through the head city. Even the physical ties — the famous roads that marked her dominion and strengthened it — "all led to Rome."

Rome began her system of magnificent roads in 312 B.C. by the *Via Appia* to the new possessions in Campania. This was the work of the

censor Appius Claudius. Afterward all Italy, and then the growing empire outside Italy, was traversed by a network of such roads. Nothing was permitted to obstruct or divert their course. Mountains were tunneled, rivers bridged, marshes spanned by miles of viaducts of masonry. They were smoothly paved with huge slabs, over some two feet of gravel, to the width of eighteen feet, making the best means of communication the world was to see until the time of railroads. They were so carefully constructed, too, that their remains, in good condition to-day, still "mark the lands where Rome has ruled." Primarily they were designed for military purposes; but of course they facilitated all intercourse and helped to bind Italy together socially. (Cf. § 76 for the Persian Roads.)

For Further Reading. — Ihne, I. 537–552; Mommsen, II. 46–62; Pelham, 97–107.

II. THE PERFECTED REPUBLICAN CONSTITUTION.

A. Growth of a New Aristocracy.[1]

344. The Nobles. — No sooner had the old distinction between plebeian and patrician faded away, than there began to grow up a new aristocracy of mixed plebeian and patrician families, known as the nobles, or the senatorial class. They were made up of the descendants of office holders. It came to pass that a man was recognized as "noble" if any ancestor had been a curule officer, — censor, consul, praetor, dictator, aedile (§ 346). The distinction was at first social merely, and it always remained without recognition in law; but before 300 B.C. the nobles began to be jealous of the admission of "new men" to their ranks, and by their collective influence they came to control nearly all elections in favor of members of their own order, so making a close hereditary oligarchy of a few hundred families.

B. Political Machinery and its Working.

345. The Assemblies: Apparent Growth toward Democracy. — *The assemblies by curias, by centuries, and by tribes continued to exist side by side;* but the center of gravity had shifted

[1] Pelham, 170–172, and Mommsen, III. 3–18.

again, — as once before from the curias to the centuries, so now from the centuries to the tribes. The political function of the curiate assembly had become purely formal in very early times (§ 296). The centuriate assembly continued to elect consuls, censors, and praetors; but its law-making power, as well as the choice of all other officers, had passed to the new *comitia tributa*, which was now in law the *moving* force in the state. Moreover, during the century between the Licinian Rogations and the war with Pyrrhus, three or four legal reforms were adopted, designed to make the political assemblies still more powerful and more democratic.

a. In 312 B.C. the reforming patrician censor, Appius Claudius, enrolled the landless proletariat in the tribes. Up to this time, only landholders had a voice there (§ 322). Appius carried this sweeping extension of the franchise unconstitutionally, in defiance of the veto of his colleague; the aristocratic party did not venture to undo the act, but they did modify it. A few years later another censor placed all the landless class in the four city tribes alone, so that the city proletariat might not outvote the rural landowners. This still left a marked democratic gain.

b. About the same time a complicated and obscure change took place in the centuriate assembly, by which each of the *five classes* secured an equal voice, and wealth was deprived of most of its older supremacy.

c. In 287 B.C., after some dissension and a threatened secession, the *Hortensian Law* took from the senate its veto upon the *plebiscita* of the tribes. Somewhat earlier it had lost all veto over the elections in the centuries.

These changes made Rome a democracy in law; but in practice they were more than counterbalanced by aristocratic control of the two other political elements (§§ 346, 347).

346. Administrative Officers.[1] — The positions of greatest dignity in Rome, in order, were the offices of *aediles* (four, with

[1] Mommsen, I. 400–407; Pelham, 103–107.

oversight over police and public works), *praetors* (two, with supreme judicial power), *consuls* (two, commanders in war and leaders in foreign policy), and *censors*. These, with the occasional dictatorship, were called *curule offices*, because the holders, dividing among them the old royal power, kept the right to use the curule chair — the ancient royal ivory chair of state. There were also the inferior aediles, the eight quaestors (in charge of the treasury and with some judicial power), and the ten tribunes. This latter office, though less in dignity than the curule offices, was perhaps most important of all. The tribune's old duties were gone, but he had become a political leader and the master of the comitia tributa — as the consul was of the less important comitia centuriata.

Except for the censor, all these officers held authority for only one year; but they exercised tremendous power. The ancient imperium which the king had transmitted to the consuls had now been further subdivided, but its nature remained essentially unchanged. The magistrate still called and adjourned assemblies as he liked; and he phrased all proposals to be laid before them, controlling debate and amendment at will.

347. The Senate[1] the Guiding Force in the Roman Government. — The democracy had attempted to regulate the senate and limit its powers. Indirectly that body had been made elective: the censors were required to fill vacancies first from those who had held curule offices, and ordinarily this would leave them little discretion. Moreover, the Hortensian Law had made the senatorial veto upon the Assemblies a sham. So far as written law was concerned, the senate was only an advisory body, shorn of the few other powers it had formerly possessed.

None the less, in the unwritten but real constitution, the senate was the organ of the nobility and the ruling body in the state. It contained the wisdom and experience of Rome. The pressure of constant and dangerous wars, and the growing

[1] Read Mommsen, I. 406–412, or Pelham, 159–167.

complexity of foreign relations even in peace, made it inevitable that this far-seeing, compact, experienced body should assume authority which in theory belonged to the clumsy, inexperienced Assembly. "Rome," says Ihne, "became a complete aristocracy with democratic forms;" or, as Mommsen puts it, "While the burgesses acquired the semblance, the senate acquired the substance, of power." As the magistrate controlled the Assemblies, so the senate controlled the magistrate. No consul would think of bringing a law before the people without the approval of the senate; so that indirectly that body, rather than the Assembly, had become the real legislature. No officer would draw money from the treasury without its consent. It declared war, and usually directed its progress. It received ambassadors and made alliances. And certainly for over a hundred years this "assembly of kings" justified its usurpation by its sagacity and energy, earning Mommsen's epithet, — "the foremost political corporation of all time."

C. Democratic Theory and Aristocratic Practice.

348. The Rule of the Nobles. — The constitution had taken on its final form before the Pyrrhic War, though its spirit was yet to undergo change. The trend of that change also was already apparent. In theory the democracy was supreme through its popular assemblies; in practice the aristocrats controlled the government absolutely through their monopoly of the curule offices and consequently of the all-directing senate.

This condition was to last nearly three hundred years. During the first half of this time (until about 200 B.C.) the rule of the nobles, though marked sometimes by a narrow class spirit, was patriotic, vigorous, and beneficent. In the second half it became both weak and selfish; and power slipped from the incapable aristocracy into the hands of a series of military chiefs, — the forerunners of the Empire.

For Further Reading. — Polybius (VI.) describes the Roman constitution as he saw it about 150 B.C. Extracts from Polybius in Fling's *Studies*, 6. Modern authorities have been referred to in the footnotes.

III. SOCIETY IN ROME AND ITALY.

349. Economic. — From 367 to about 200 B.C. is the period of greatest Roman vigor. The old distinction between patrician and plebeian had died out; and, though a social and political aristocracy was growing up, the coming economic struggle between rich and poor had not fairly begun. The rapid gains of territory made it possible to relieve the city poor by grants of land and by colonization; and the Roman people, in the main, were still simple and frugal yeomen, whose industry made a garden of many parts of Italy that are to-day abandoned to malarial swamps. There were few citizens of great wealth or in extreme poverty. Copper was the only coinage until the Pyrrhic War; and even later a senator was struck from the list because he owned ten pounds of silver plate. The legend of the patrician Cincinnatus, of the fifth century, — called as Dictator from the plow on his four-acre farm to save Rome from the Sabines, and returning to the plow again, after victory, in sixteen days, — is more than matched by the recorded history of *Manius Curio*, the conqueror of the Samnites and of Pyrrhus. This greatest Roman of that great day was a Sabine peasant and a proud aristocrat. Plutarch tells us that, though he had "triumphed" thrice, he continued to live in a cottage on a little four-acre plot which he tilled with his own hands. Here the Samnite ambassadors found him dressing turnips in the chimney corner when they came to offer him a large present of gold. Curio refused the gift: "A man," said he, "who can be content with this supper hath no need of gold; and I count it glory, not to possess wealth, but to rule those who do."

350. Character and Ideals. — Still, it must be remembered that it is cheap moralizing to point out the barbaric virtues of a

rude society in comparison with the luxury of refined times, omitting more important contrasts. Early Rome has come in for much such doubtful praise, but the real picture is by no means without shadows. At his best, the Roman was abstemious, haughty, obedient to law, self-controlled, cruel to his own flesh as to strangers. His ideal was a man of iron will and stern discipline, devoted to the state, contemptuous of luxury, of suffering, and even of human sympathy or family feeling if it conflicted with his duty to Rome. His model was still the first consul Brutus, who could send his guilty sons to the block unmoved; and the great Latin war (338 B.C.) furnished an historical *Manlius*, who gloomily executed his gallant son for a glorious act of insubordination to himself as consul (see the story in Livy). With such men for her heroes, it is not so strange that Rome made some peculiar boasts. For instance, the noble Samnite Pontius, the victor of Caudine Forks, had magnanimously spared the Roman army there; but when he became prisoner in turn, Rome saw only cause for pride in basely dragging him through the city in a triumph, and then starving him to death in a dungeon. An impartial estimate must show the Roman coarse, cruel, and rapacious, as well as lofty-minded, brave, and obedient.

351. Rome and Outside Italy. — Economically and in morals Rome was a fair type of the Italians proper; the Etruscans and Greeks were softer and more luxurious, with more abject poverty among the masses.

After the war with Pyrrhus, the connection with Magna Graecia introduced Greek culture into Roman society, while the effect of conquest began to show in growing wealth and luxury. It cannot be said that the Romans as a whole appear to advantage at first under the change. Too often it seemed only to veneer their native coarseness and brutality. At the same time, with the better minds (as with the Scipios), it softened and refined character into a more lovable type than Italy had so far seen.

IV. THE ARMY.

352. The Flexible Legion. — The instrument with which the Roman state conquered the world can best be surveyed at this point, although the changes to be noted in § 355 took place somewhat later.

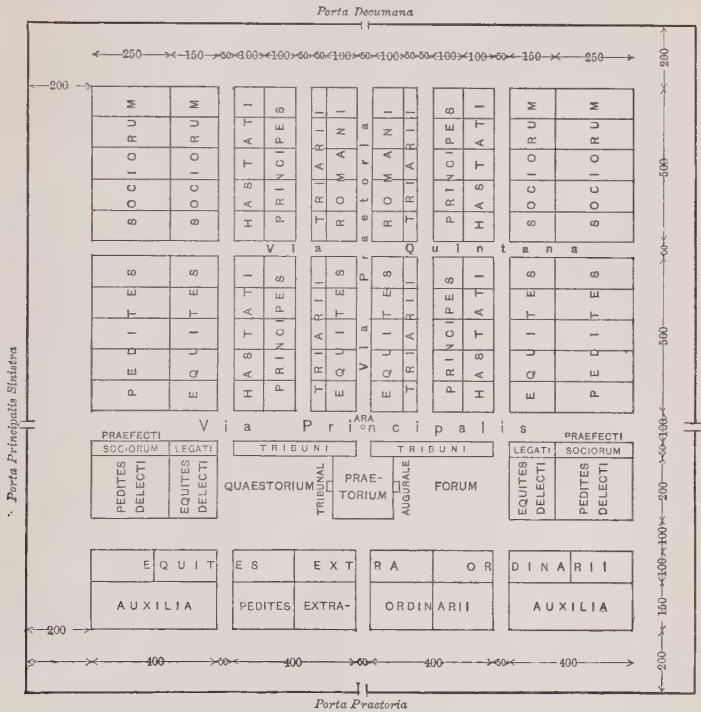
The Roman army under the kings appears to have been similar to the old Dorian organization. In Italy, as in Greece, the "knights" of earlier times had given way to a dense hoplite array, usually eight deep. In Greece the next step was to deepen and close the ranks still further into the massive Theban and Macedonian phalanx. In Italy, instead, they were broken up into three successive lines, each line being divided into small companies, with intervals between them, while each soldier was allowed about twice the space permitted by the phalanx arrangement.

The arms differed correspondingly. The legion used the hurling javelin to disorder the enemy's ranks before immediate contact (the modern musketry fire), and the sword for close combat (the modern bayonet). Flexibility, individuality, and constancy took the place of the single collective lance thrust of the unwieldy phalanx. So long as the phalanx remained unbroken and could present its front, it was invulnerable; but if disordered by inequalities of ground, or taken in flank, it was doomed. The two great fighting instruments were not to come into final conflict until after 200 B.C. Meantime they remained supreme in the East and the West respectively. The legion at this time numbered about five thousand Roman citizens, with as many more troops from the "allies."

353. The Roman Camp was a peculiar institution in itself, characteristic of a people whose colonies were garrisons. Where the army encamped — even if for only a single night — there grew up in an hour a fortified city, with its outer walls and its regular streets.[1] This system allowed the Romans often "to

[1] Special report: the importance of these camps as the sites and foundation plans of cities over Europe, as at Chester (Castra), in England.

conquer by sitting still," declining or giving battle at their own option; while, too, when they did fight, they did so "under the walls of their city," with a fortified and guarded refuge in their rear.



THE ROMAN CAMP.

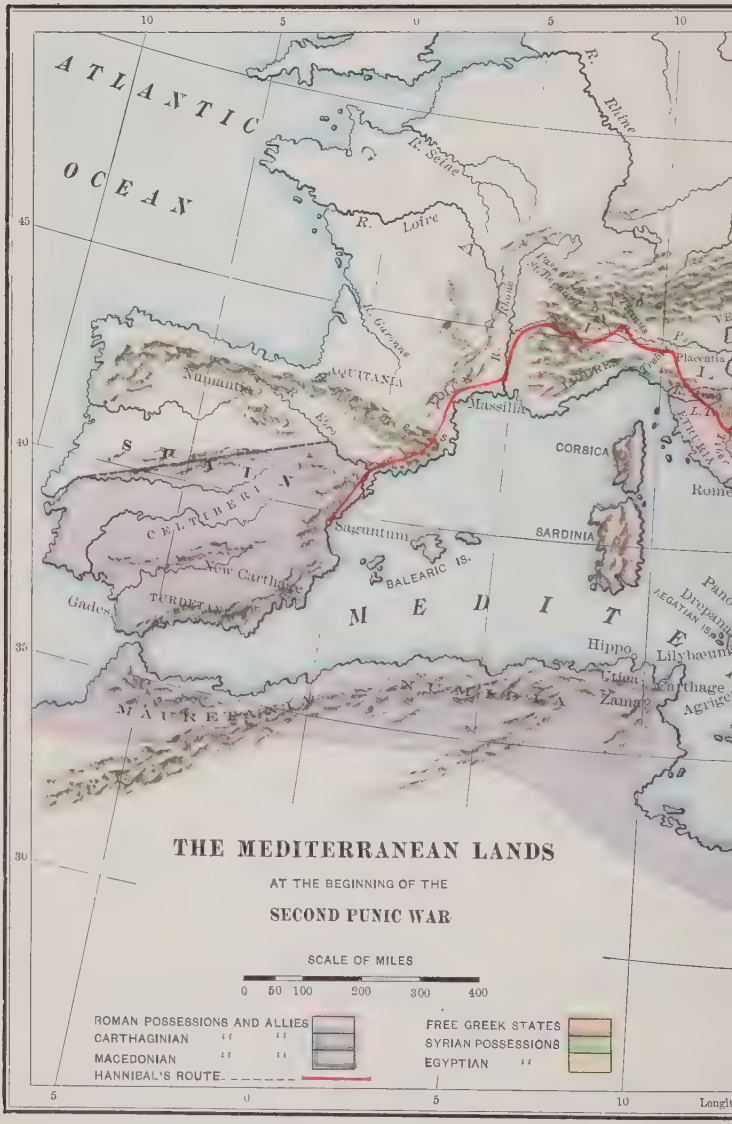
354. Discipline. — The terrible discipline of early times remained. Without trial, the general could scourge or behead any man serving in his camp. Still more fearful was the practice of *decimating* a faulty corps (putting to death every tenth man).

355. Changes with Extension of Service: a Professional Army and Proconsuls. — Service with the legions was still the highest

duty of the citizen, and each man between the ages of seventeen and forty-six was liable to active duty. But alongside this citizen-army, in the period to which we are now come, especially in the Second Punic War, there was to grow up a professional army. New citizen legions were raised each year for the summer campaigns as before, though more and more, even there, the veteran officers, from centurions up, remained a professional class; but the legions sent to Sicily, Spain, or Africa were kept under arms sometimes for many years. In particular, the long struggle in Spain after the close of the Hannibalic War (§ 377) operated in this way. Some twenty thousand soldiers were required constantly for that province each year for half a century. In consequence, there arose a professional standing army. This led to increase of pay, to the recognition of plunder as a legitimate part of the soldier's compensation, and, at a later date, to the practice of settling such veterans, upon the expiration of their service, in military colonies in the provinces where they had served — the lands thus given them being regarded as a kind of service pension. In this way, communities of Roman citizens were to be spread over the provinces to Italianize the world, as a like system of colonization had already Romanized Italy.

Even more important in political respects was another result. To call home a consul from an unfinished campaign in these long and distant wars had become intolerably wasteful. The remedy was found in prolonging the *imperium* of the commander with the title of *pro-consul* or *pro-praetor* — an office destined to become the strongest force in the Republic and a chief prop of the coming Empire.

For Further Reading. — Mommsen, I. 394–412, and II. 47–95 (also, though less important, *ib.* 96–128); Ihne, I. 428–451 and 537–575; Tighe, ch. vii.; Pelham, 96–106; Granrud.


ATLANTIC OCEAN
R. Rhine
R. Seine
R. Loire
R. Garonne
R. Rhone
R. Ebro
AQUITANIA
Numantia
Massilia
Placentia
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Saguntum
BALEARIC IS.
New Carthage
Gades
TURDETANIA
CELTIBERI
MEDITE
Hippo
Utica
Zama
Carthage
Lilybæum
AEGATIAN IS.
THE MEDITERRANEAN LANDS
AT THE BEGINNING OF THE
SECOND PUNIC WAR
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
ROMAN POSSESSIONS AND ALLIES
CARTHAGINIAN " "
MACEDONIAN " "
HANNIBAL'S ROUTE
FREE GREEK STATES
SYRIAN POSSESSIONS
EGYPTIAN "

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CHAPTER VI.

THE WINNING OF THE WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN, 264-146 B.C.

I. THE RIVALS—ITALY AND CARTHAGE.

356. Italy now one of Five Great Mediterranean States. — One hundred twenty years more made this united Italy mistress of the Mediterranean lands. For some time the dominion of that world had been held by the three great Greek kingdoms in the East (§ 247) and by Carthage in the West. Now between them stood forth a new power, destined to absorb them all. The existence of Italy as a real force in the world had been revealed by the repulse of Pyrrhus. Eastern Greek scholars had begun at once to study keenly the institutions and history of the new state, but for some time longer its important political relations were with the West.

357. Carthage the only Rival in the West.[1] — Plainly the immediate rival of Rome was Carthage, although the two powers had just been joined in a close alliance against Pyrrhus. That gallant adventurer had left Italy with the longing exclamation on his lips, "How fair a battle-field we are leaving to the Romans and Carthaginians"; and in less than ten years, the hundred-year conflict began. Carthage was an ancient Phoenician colony on the finest harbor in North Africa. Her government was an oligarchic republic. She had long contended with the Greeks for dominance in the western Mediterranean, and she was now at the height of her power. Polybius called her the richest city in the world. To her

[1] An excellent treatment is given in Mommsen, bk. iii. ch. i. A more favorable view in Ihne, II. 3–21. See also Polybius, bk. i. chs. li.–lvi.

old naval supremacy, she had added recently a vast land dominion, including North Africa (with some three hundred cities and indefinite territory roamed over by the nomads of the interior) and most of Spain, Sardinia, and Sicily. The western Mediterranean she regarded as a Punic Lake: foreign sailors caught trespassing there were cast into the sea.

Her Roman foes have represented Carthage as wanting in

CARTHAGINIAN COIN STRUCK IN SICILY.

Head of Persephone.

integrity, and with biting irony they invented the term, "Punic[1] faith," as a synonym for treachery. The slander became embalmed in speech, but it seems baseless. Carthage herself is "a dumb actor on the stage of history"; she once had poetry, oratory, and philosophy, but none of it was to escape Roman hate, to tell us how Carthaginians had thought and felt. Rome wrote the history, and certainly was not generous to her rival; but even from the Roman story, the charge of faithlessness and greed is most apparent against Rome in all the dealings of the two rivals. However, the civilization of Carthage was apparently of an Oriental type; her religion was largely the cruel and licentious worship of the Phoenician Baal and Astarte; her armies were a motley mass of mercenaries

[1] From a form of the word Phoenician.

paid by the profits of her commerce; and though, like the mother Phoenician states (§ 58), she scattered widely the seeds of a material culture, like them also, as contrasted with Greeks and Romans, she showed no power of assimilating inferior or barbarous nations. The conquests of Rome were to be Romanized, but six centuries of Punic rule had left the Berber tribes of Africa wholly outside Carthaginian society; nor did her briefer rule in Spain or Sicily give promise of better results.

Coin of Hiero II. of Syracuse.

The contrast between the political system of the two rivals is equally striking. Says Mommsen (II. 155): —

"Carthage dispatched her overseers everywhere, and loaded even the old Phoenician cities with a heavy tribute, while her subject tribes were practically treated as state slaves. In this way there was not in the compass of the Carthagino-African state a single community, with the exception of Utica, that would not have been politically and materially benefited by the fall of Carthage; in the Romano-Italic there was not one that had not much more to lose than to gain in rebelling against a government which was careful to avoid injuring material interests, and which never, at least by extreme measures, challenged political opposition."

358. The Issue at Stake. — Thus, whatever our sympathy for Carthage and her hero leaders, we must see that the victory of Rome was a necessary condition for the welfare of the human race. It was the conflict of Greece and Persia repeated by more stalwart actors on a western stage (§ 176).

II. THE FIRST PUNIC WAR (THE WAR FOR SICILY).

359. Occasion. — The Roman suzerainty over the Greeks of south Italy led inevitably to relations with the other half of Magna Graecia in Sicily. That great island is really a continuation of the Italian peninsula, and it reaches to within ninety miles of the African coast. A sunken ridge on the bed of the sea shows that it once helped to join the two continents, between which it still forms a stepping-stone. European and African had struggled for this middle land for centuries; and for centuries yet to come it was to be the wrestling ground between European Romans and Normans and African Vandals and Moors. In 265 B.C., the island had been divided for two hundred years between Syracuse and Carthage (§§ 155, 168, 174, 217). In that year the "Mamertines," a band of Campanian mercenaries calling themselves Sons of Mars, seized Messana from Hiero II., tyrant of Syracuse. To protect themselves, one faction of the robbers then called in Carthage, and another party appealed to Rome as the protector of the Italian Greeks. Both Syracuse and Carthage were allies of Rome, and it was not easy for that state to find excuse for defending the robbers; but after long deliberation the desire to check Carthage and to extend Roman power outweighed all caution, as well as all moral considerations and the traditions of ancient policy. The senate, indeed, could come to no decisive resolve; but the tribes, to whom it referred the question, felt a masterful consciousness of their power, and, at their vote, in 264 B.C., Roman legions for the first time crossed the seas. Says Mommsen, with his usual glorification of an imperial policy: —

> "It was one of those moments when calculation fails, and when faith alone in men's own and their country's destiny gives courage to grasp the hand that beckons out of the darkness of the future and to follow it one knows not whither."

360. Strength of the Parties. — Carthage was mistress of a huge but scattered and heterogeneous empire. Rome was

the head of a compact nationality (see map). The strength of Carthage lay in her wealth and navy (the latter partly offset by the vicinity of Italy to Sicily). Her weak points were: the jealousy felt by the ruling families at home toward their own successful generals; the difficulty of dealing with her mercenaries; the danger of revolt among her Libyan subjects; and the fact that an invading army after one victory would find no resistance outside her walls, since her jealousy had leveled the defenses of her tributary towns in Africa. Rome was strong in an enterprising public spirit, in the discipline and fighting qualities of her legions, and in the fidelity and strength of her allies. Her weakness lay in the want of a better military system than the one of annually-changing officers and short-term soldiers,[1] and in the total lack of preparation for conflict with a naval power.

361. General Progress; Value of Naval Supremacy. — The war lasted twenty-three years (just the length of the Second Samnite War), and is ranked by Polybius above all previous wars for severity. Few conflicts illustrate better the supreme value of naval superiority. At first the Carthaginians were undisputed masters of the sea. They therefore reënforced their troops in Sicily at pleasure, and ravaged the coasts of Italy to the utter ruin of seaboard prosperity; indeed, for a time they made good their warning to the Roman senate before the war began, — that against their will no Roman could dip his hands in the sea.

But the Romans, with sagacity and boldness, built their first important war fleet and soon met the ancient Queen of the Seas on her own element. Winning command there temporarily,[2] they invaded Africa itself, shaking the Carthaginian Em-

[1] The changes referred to in § 355 had not yet taken place.

[2] Special report: the new naval tactics of the Romans (Mommsen, II. 173–176; Ihne, II. 50–55).

Despite real genius in the device by which Rome changed a naval into a land battle to so great a degree, her immediate victory at sea over the veteran navy of Carthage is explicable chiefly on the supposition that the "Roman"

pire at once to its foundations: and some years later a more complete defeat at sea made it impossible for Carthage to continue the conflict in Sicily, and brought her to sue for peace. To secure it, she surrendered Sicily and paid a heavy war indemnity. Syracuse with the neighboring territory in the southeast of the island was left under the rule of Hiero, a faithful Roman ally in the war, and the rest of Sicily became a possession of Rome.

362. Special Features in the Struggle. — Two matters deserve special mention, because they illustrate the notable public spirit at Rome and the need of a more permanent army.

a. The Roman invasion of Africa in 256 B.C. was at first brilliantly successful; but, as winter approached, the short-term levies were mostly recalled, according to custom, and the weak remnant under the consul Regulus[1] was soon completely crushed. The lesson of the need of a more permanent military system for distant warfare was not forgotten (§ 355).

b. Rome's first attempts upon the sea were surprisingly successful; but soon terrible reverses and accidents befell her. In quick succession four great fleets were lost, with as many Roman armies on board. One sixth the burgess-body had perished in the war; the treasury was empty; and the state gave up the desperate, but absolutely essential, effort to secure the sea. In this crisis the fleet of two hundred ships (with sixty thousand men) that was finally to win the decisive victory was built and equipped by the lavish free-will contributions of public-spirited citizens.

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navy was furnished by the "allies" in Magna Graecia. The old story that Rome built her fleet in two months on the model of a stranded Carthaginian vessel, and meantime trained her sailors to row sitting on the sand, must be in the main a quaint invention (see Ihne, II. 52–55). Mommsen (II. 43–46) outlines the history of the Roman navy for sixty years before the war, and (II. 172–176) gives a possible meaning to the old account by Polybius.

[1] Special report: the story of Regulus, and modern criticism; Mommsen, II. 184, note; Ihne, II. 78–81.

III. FROM THE FIRST TO THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

The first half century after the completion of Italian unity in the war with Pyrrhus, is marked by two great processes (§§ 363, 364).

363. The Extension of Italy to its Natural Borders. — The old Apennine Italy (§ 271) had been united under Rome at the close of the Pyrrhic War. Next, that narrow Italy widened to its natural limits by three great steps, — the acquisition of Sicily, of Sardinia and Corsica, and of the Po valley. The First Punic War had secured Sicily. Three years later (238 B.C.), while Carthage was engaged in the horrible "Inexpiable War"[1] with her revolted mercenaries and subjects in Africa, her mercenary armies in Sardinia and Corsica also mutinied and offered those islands to Rome. The temptation was too much for Roman honor. The offer was shamelessly accepted; and when Carthage made a well-grounded protest, she was met by a stern threat of war. Then, in 225 B.C., the last step was taken. The Gauls, that abiding terror of the north, again threatened Italy, and actually penetrated to within three days' march of Rome; Italian patriotism, however, rallied round the capital city to resist the barbarous invaders; they were overwhelmed and crushed, and, by the year 222 B.C., Cisalpine Gaul also had become a Roman possession, garrisoned by colonies. It was certainly a happy chance that gave Rome so good excuse just at this time to push her northern boundary from the low, easily crossed Apennines to the great crescent wall of the Alps.

364. The Organization of these New Conquests: the Provincial System. — Unfortunately, Rome could devise no new principle of government by which to rule these new realms, which were still looked upon as outside Italy. Distance, and the character of the countries, seemed to forbid the generous treatment accorded the "allies" in Italy proper, and they became,

[1] Special report.

strictly, subject possessions, ruled upon the model of the Italian praefectures (§ 340). Sicily, the first possession out of Italy, was managed temporarily by a Roman praetor; but in 227 B.C., when some semblance of order had been introduced into Sardinia and Corsica, the senate adopted a permanent plan of government for all the new insular possessions. Two additional praetors, it was decided, should be elected each year, — one to rule Sicily, the other for the two other islands. The two governments received the name of *provinces*. Some time afterward Cisalpine Gaul was organized in a like manner, though it was not given the title of a province until much later. Such was the beginning of the provincial system that was to spread finally far beyond these "suburbs of Italy."[1]

IV. THE SECOND PUNIC WAR (SOMETIMES STYLED "THE WAR FOR SPAIN"[2]).

365. General Character. — Rome and Carthage were still too equally matched for either to resign the sovereignty of the western Mediterranean without another struggle. The decisive contest was the Second Punic War (218–202 B.C.). It was waged mainly in Italy itself; and it is notable for the dazzling career of Hannibal (so that Roman historians called it "the Hannibalic war") and for bringing the Greek kingdoms of the East into hostile contact with Rome.

366. Occasion: Carthage in Spain. — Rome's policy of "blunder and plunder" in seizing Sardinia gave Carthage excuse enough for war, if she could find leaders and resources. These were both furnished by the great *Barca* family. Hamilcar Barca had been the greatest general and the only hero of the First Punic War. From Rome's high-handed treachery in Sardinia, he had imbibed a deathless hatred for that state; and

[1] The features of the system are treated in §§ 401–404.

[2] Spain was the important territory that passed to Rome as a result of the war, but the struggle did not begin as a war for Spain.

immediately after putting down the Mercenary War, he had begun to prepare for another conflict. To offset the loss of the great Mediterranean islands and to provide a new base of operations, he sought to strengthen Carthaginian dominion in Spain. The mines of that country, he saw, would furnish the needful wealth, and its hardy tribes, when disciplined, would make an unsurpassed infantry.

When Hamilcar was about to cross to Spain, in 236 B.C., he swore his son Hannibal at the altar to eternal hostility to Rome. *Hannibal* was then a boy of nine years. He followed Hamilcar to the wars, and, as a youth, became a dashing cavalry officer and the idol of the rude soldiery. He used his camp leisure to store his mind with all the culture of Greece. At twenty-six, he succeeded to the command in Spain. He possessed in rare degree the ability to secure the unwavering devotion of fickle, mercenary troops, and to bind his officers to him by enduring ties. He was a statesman of a high order, and possibly the greatest captain in history. No friendly pen has left us a record of him; Roman annalists have even sought to stain his fame with envious slander: but, through it all, his character shines out chivalrous, noble, heroic, and pure.[1] Says Colonel Dodge: —

"Putting aside Roman hate, there is not in history a figure more noble in purity, more radiant in patriotism, more heroic in genius, more pathetic in its misfortunes."

Hannibal won the Spaniards rapidly, carried the Carthaginian frontier to the Ebro, collected a magnificent army of over a hundred thousand men, and besieged Saguntum, an ancient Greek colony on the east coast. Fearing Carthaginian advance, Saguntum had sought Roman alliance; and now, when Carthage refused to disavow Hannibal, Rome declared war (218 B.C.).

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[1] On Hannibal, read Mommsen, II. 243–245; Ihne, II. 147–152, 170, 190, 191, 251; Smith's *Rome and Carthage;* and especially Dodge's *Hannibal,* 614–653.

367. Hannibal's Invasion of Italy: to Cannae. — Rome had intended to take the offensive, and indeed, she dispatched one consul in a leisurely way to Spain, and started the other for Africa by way of Sicily. But Hannibal's audacious rapidity disconcerted all plans. In five months he had crossed the Pyrenees and the Rhone, fighting his way through the Gallic tribes; forced the unknown passes of the Alps, under conditions that made it a feat paralleled only by Alexander's passage of the Hindoo-Kush; and, leaving the bones of three fourths his army between the Ebro and the Po, startled Italy by appearing in Cisalpine Gaul, with twenty-six thousand "heroic shadows," to attack a population of nearly one million fighting men. With these "emaciated scarecrows" the same fall he swiftly destroyed two hastily gathered Roman armies — at the *Ticinus* and at the *Trebia;* and the recently pacified Gallic tribes then rallied turbulently to his support. The following spring he crossed the Apennines, caught a Roman army of forty thousand men, blinded with morning mist, in a narrow defile near *Lake Trasimene*, and annihilated it there; and then carried fire and sword through Italy. The wary Roman dictator, *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, adopted the wise tactics of delay[1] to wear out Hannibal and to gain breathing time for Rome; but popular demagogues murmured that the senate protracted the war to gain glory for the aristocratic generals, and the following summer the new consuls were given ninety thousand men, with orders to crush the daring invader. The result was the battle of *Cannae* — "a carnival of cold steel, a butchery, not a battle." Hannibal lost six thousand men. Rome lost sixty thousand dead and twenty thousand prisoners. A consul, a fourth of the senators, nearly all her officers, and over a fifth of the fighting population of the city, perished; and the camps of her two armies fell into Carthaginian hands. Hannibal sent home a bushel of gold rings from the hands of fallen Roman nobles.

[1] From which we get the term "Fabian policy." Fabius was given the nickname "Cunctator" (Laggard) by the Roman populace.

368. Fidelity of the Latins and Italians to Rome. — But the victory yielded small fruit. Hannibal's only real chance within Italy had been that brilliant victories might break up the Roman confederacy and bring over to his side the subject allies. Therefore, as after his earlier successes, he now freed his Italian prisoners without ransom, proclaiming that he warred only on Rome and that he came to liberate Italy. The mountain tribes of the south, eager for plunder, did join him, as did one great city, *Capua*, and, three years later, irritated by a cruel Roman blunder, some of the Greek towns. But the other cities — colonies, Latins, or allies — closed their gates as resolutely as Rome herself, — and so gave marvelous testimony to the excellence of Roman rule and to the national Italian spirit it had fostered.

369. Rome's Grandeur in Disaster. — Rome's own greatness showed grandly in the hour of terror after Cannae, when any other people would have given up the conflict in despair. A plot among some faint-hearted nobles to abandon Italy was stifled in the camp; and the surviving consul, Varro, set himself promptly and courageously to reorganize the pitiful wreckage of his army. Varro had been elected in a bitter partisan struggle against the unanimous opposition of the aristocracy, and (with undoubted merits in personal character) he had proved utterly lacking in military talent. He now returned to Rome, expecting to face stern judges. At Carthage a general so placed would probably have been nailed to a cross; at Rome, faction and criticism were silenced, and the senate showed its own nobility by publicly giving its thanks to the general "because he had not despaired of the republic." Before the end of the year, another army under a new consul was cut to pieces, and by losses elsewhere the senate had fallen to less than half its numbers;[1] but with stern temper and splendid tenacity Rome refused even to receive Hannibal's envoys or to consider his moderate proposals for peace; nor would she in this crisis

[1] One hundred and seventy-seven new members were enrolled the next year.

even ransom prisoners, since they had not chosen to die for the republic. The senate shortened the days of mourning; it enrolled slaves, old men, boys, and the criminals from the prisons, arming them with the trophies from the temples, and managed to put two hundred and fifty thousand more troops into the field — not only refusing to recall a man from Spain or Sicily, but sending new forces to those points. Over a third of the adult male population had perished in three years, or were in the camp, withdrawn from industry. Still, taxes were doubled, almost crushing the weakened power of payment; and in addition, the rich gave cheerfully far beyond these demands, while all creditors of the state willingly accepted delay in payment.

370. Neglect of the Sea and Lack of Concerted Action by Carthage and her Allies. — Hannibal's other possible chance, that outside Italy, lay in a general Mediterranean war and in strong reënforcements from Carthage. Philip V. of Macedon did ally himself with Hannibal, but acted indecisively and too late; Syracuse, too, joined Carthage, but its new tyrant was incapable, and in 212 B.C. it fell, after a memorable three years' siege.[1] Strangely, Carthage made no serious attempt to recover command of the sea;[2] while Rome guarded her coasts with efficient fleets, and transported her armies at will.

371. Changed Character of the War, after Cannae. — Rome now strained every nerve for success abroad, where her great enemy could not act in person. Step by step the Roman Scipio brothers forced back the Carthaginian frontier in Spain, cut Hannibal's lines of land communication, and for many years ruined all his hopes of reënforcement from that quarter. After the defeat and death of the two Scipios, Rome promptly hurried in fresh forces under the younger and greater *Publius*

[1] A siege notable for the scientific inventions of Archimedes (§ 259) used in the defense. The philosopher was killed in the indiscriminate massacre that followed the capture.

[2] Read Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power in History*, 14–21, and also Introduction, iv.–vii.

Cornelius Scipio, who in masterly fashion continued the work of his father and uncle. In Italy itself, the policy of Fabius was again adopted, varied by the telling blows of the vigorous soldier Marcellus (the "Sword," as Fabius was the "Shield," of Rome).

Hannibal's hopes had been blasted in the moment of victory. Rome had fallen back upon an iron constancy and steadfast caution; her Italian subjects had shown a steady fidelity even more ominous to the invader; while Carthage proved supine, and her allies lukewarm. Against such conditions all the great African's genius in war and in diplomacy wore itself out in vain. For thirteen years more he maintained himself in Italy without reënforcement in men or money, — always winning a battle when he could engage the enemy in the field in person, and directing operations and policy as best he might in Spain, Sicily, Macedonia, and Africa; but it was a war waged by one supreme genius against the most powerful and resolute nation in the world. And so the struggle now entered upon its last, long, wasting stage. It became a record of sieges and marches and countermarches, in which Hannibal's genius was no doubt as marvelous as ever, earning him from modern military critics the title, "Father of Strategy," but in which there are no more of the dazzling results that mark the first campaigns. Hannibal's Spanish veterans died off, too, to be replaced as best they might by local recruits in Italy, and gradually the Romans learned the art of war from their great enemy.

"With the battle of Cannae the breathless interest in the war ceases; its surging mass, broken on the walls of the Roman fortresses, . . . foams away in ruin and devastation through south Italy, — ever victorious, ever receding. Rome, assailed on all sides by open foe and forsworn friend, driven to her last man and last coin, 'ever great and greater grows' in the strength of her strong will and loyal people, widening the circle round her with rapid blows in Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, and Macedon, while she slowly loosens the grip fastened on her throat at home, till in the end . . . the final fight on African sands at the same moment closes the struggle for life and seats her mistress of the world." — How and Leigh, 199.

372. "Hannibal at the Gates." — One more dramatic scene marked Hannibal's career in Italy. The Romans had besieged Capua. In a daring attempt to relieve his ally, Hannibal marched to the very walls of Rome, ravaging the fields about the city. The Romans, however, were not to be enticed out to a rash engagement, nor would the army around Capua be drawn from its prey. The only result of this desperate stroke was a fruitless fright — such that for generations Roman mothers stilled their children by the terror-bearing phrase, "Hannibal at the Gates!" Roman stories relate, however, that citizens were found, even in that hour of fear, to show a defiant confidence by buying eagerly at a public sale the land where the invader lay encamped.

373. The Second Carthaginian Invasion. — Meantime, in Spain, Hannibal's brother, Hasdrubal, had been contending against the crushing force of the Scipios, with the skill and devotion of his house. Finally, in 207 B.C., by able maneuvers, he eluded the Roman generals, and started with a veteran army to reënforce Hannibal. Rome's peril was never greater than when this second Barcide crossed the Alps successfully with fifty-six thousand men and fifteen elephants.

The republic put forth its supreme effort. One hundred and fifty thousand men were thrown between the two Carthaginian armies, which together numbered some eighty thousand. An intercepted messenger from Hasdrubal gave the Romans an accidental but decisive advantage. The consul, *Claudius Nero*, with audacity learned of Hannibal himself, left part of his force to deceive that leader, and, hurrying northward with the speed of life and death, fell upon Hasdrubal with crushing numbers at the *Metaurus*. The ghastly head of his long-expected brother, flung with brutal contempt into his camp,[1] was the first notice to Hannibal of the ruin of his family and his cause.

[1] A strange contrast to the chivalrous treatment that Hannibal accorded the bodies of Marcellus and of the Roman generals at Cannae and elsewhere.

374. Scipio carries the War into Africa: Zama and Peace. — Still Hannibal remained invincible in the field in Italy. But Rome now carried the war into Africa. *Scipio* had rapidly reduced all Spain after Hasdrubal's departure; and in 204 B.C. he was sent with a great army to attack Carthage itself. Two years later, to meet this peril, Hannibal sadly obeyed a recall, "leaving the country of his enemy," says Livy, "with more regret than many an exile has left his own"; and the war closed with his first and only defeat, at Zama near Carthage, in 202 B.C., where Scipio earned the proud surname "Africanus."[1]

Carthage sued for peace. To obtain it, she gave up Spain and her islands in the western Mediterranean, surrendered all her war elephants and all her ships of war save ten, paid a huge war indemnity, and became a dependent ally of Rome.

375. The Settlement in Italy. — It remains to note Rome's terrible vengeance upon her few unfaithful allies. Syracuse, which had been one of the largest and richest cities of the world, and indeed contained a large faithful Roman party, had been sacked by a merciless soldiery, and was never to recover its former proud eminence. Its rare works of art, the accumulations of centuries, were removed to Rome. More harsh was the fate of Capua. That "second city in Italy" ceased to exist as a city. Its leading men were massacred; most of the rest of the population were sold as slaves; the few remaining settlers were governed absolutely by an annual prefect sent from Rome; and *Roman colonies* of war veterans were planted upon its lands. The people of the Bruttian peninsula (who had joined Hannibal) became the Helots of Rome, and the unfaithful mountain tribes paid in loss of lands and privileges;

[1] A Roman had at least three names. The gentile name was the *nomen*, the most important of the three; it came in the middle. The third (the *cognomen*) marked the family. The first (*praenomen*) was the individual name (like our baptismal names). Then a Roman often received also a surname for some achievement or characteristic. Thus *Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus* was the individual Publius of the Scipio family of the great Cornelian gens, surnamed Africanus for his conquest of Africa.

while the thorough reduction and Latinization of untrustworthy Cisalpine Gaul and of Liguria went on slowly through many campaigns.

376. The Result of the Second War. — Rome had been fighting for existence, but she had won world dominion. The result was apparent at once in the West, where no rival remained; in the East it was to show more slowly. There now began an imperial system in which the barbarous, unorganized West and the small states and mighty kingdoms of Alexander's realms were alike to lose themselves. And this result came about almost inevitably, and, to a great extent, in spite of Rome's reluctance. Italy, from the Alps to the promontories of Sicily, she had designed to rule. Beyond these limits, dominion was at first forced upon her. In the West she at once accepted the situation frankly, as the heir of Carthage: the realm formerly ruled by that power could not be abandoned to anarchy or barbarism, and Rome was under obligation to organize and rule the empire that had fallen to her. But in the East, Rome hesitated honestly and long, until events thrust empire upon her there, also (§§ 386–389).[1]

Special Reports. — 1. Stories of Hannibal's great battles — Trasimene, Cannae, Zama — and of his passage of the Alps. 2. Hannibal in south Italy after Cannae. 3. Why Hannibal did not attack Rome itself after Cannae. 4. The story of Hannibal after Zama. 5. Anecdotes of the Scipios. 6. Story of the siege and ruin of Syracuse.

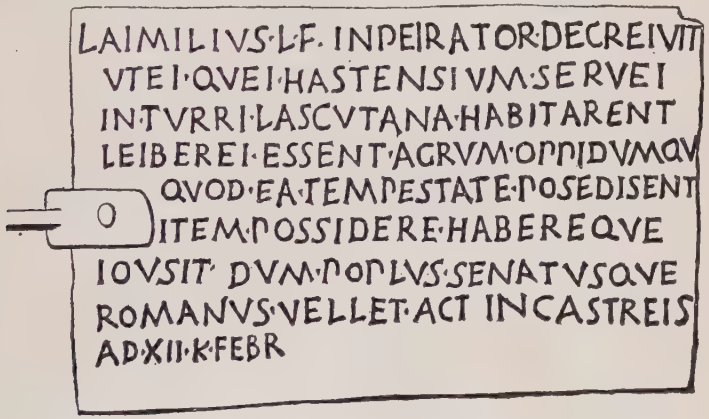
V. THE WEST FROM 201 TO 146 B.C.

A. Spain.

377. Heroic War for Independence. — Two new provinces were created in Spain, for which two more magistrates were elected

[1] The resulting policy in the West for the next fifty years — until expansion was complete in that direction — is the topic of Division V. It is logically part of the story we have been telling. The trend of events is so different in the East that a separate chapter is given to expansion in that direction (ch. vii.), although the story covers the same half century.

annually. Unhappily, owing to rapacity in some of these officers and to incapacity in others, the proud and warlike Spanish tribes were driven into a long war for independence, marked by the heroic leadership of the Spanish patriot, *Viriathus*, and by Roman baseness and cruelty such as have characterized few wars. A Roman general massacred a tribe that had submitted. Of seventeen survivors, one proved so unconquerable a leader of revolt that another Roman



Decree of L. Aemilius Paulus, Praetor of Spain, 189 B.C., regulating the position of a client-community.

general procured his assassination by hired murderers. Rome itself rejected treaties after they had purchased the lives of Roman armies. Spanish towns, after gallant resistance, were wiped from the face of the earth, and so others chose wholesale suicide rather than surrender. These were some of the means by which Rome retained its hold in this miserable period upon its Spanish provinces.[1]

378. Romanization. — The struggle closed only in 133 B.C., but all this time the Romanization of the province had been

[1] Mommsen, III. 215–234.

going on. Traders and speculators had flocked to the seaports; the Roman legionaries, quartered in Spain for many years at a time, married Spanish wives, and, when relieved from military service, settled there. No sooner were the restless interior tribes fully subdued than there appeared the promise — to be so well kept later — that Spain would become "more Roman than Rome itself."

B. Africa. — The Third Punic War (the War for Africa).

379. Rome seeks Perfidious Pretext against Carthage. — Even before Spain was pacified, hatred and greed had led to the seizure of the remaining realms of Carthage. That state was now powerless for harm; but Roman fear was cruel, and demanded its utter destruction. The needless conflict was forced relentlessly upon the unhappy Carthaginians by a long series of persecutions; and it was marked by the blackest perfidy on the part of Rome and by the final desperate heroism of Carthage.

First, that city was called upon to surrender Hannibal to Roman vengeance.[1] Then it was vexed by constant annoyances in Africa on the part of Massinissa, Prince of Numidia. Massinissa had been Rome's ally in the latter part of the Second Punic War, and had been rewarded by new dominions carved out of Carthaginian territory. Now, encouraged by Rome, he encroached more and more, seizing piece after piece of the district that had been left to the vanquished city. Repeatedly Carthage appealed to Rome, but her just complaints brought no redress. The Roman commissioners that were sent to act as arbiters — with secret orders beforehand to favor Massinissa — carried back to Rome only a greater fear of the

[1] When the hero escaped to the East, Roman petty hatred followed him from country to country, until, to avoid falling into Roman hands, he took his own life, "proving in a lifelong struggle with fate, that success is in no way necessary to greatness."

reviving industry and wealth of Carthage, and told the astonished Roman senate of a city with crowded streets, with treasury and arsenals full, and with its harbors thronged with shipping. From this time (157 B.C.) the narrow-minded but powerful and zealous *Cato* closed every speech in the senate, no matter what the subject, with the phrase "*Delenda est Carthago*" (Carthage must be blotted out).

380. Rome declares War; Carthage is treacherously Disarmed. — Still the cautious submissiveness of Carthage, despite the flagrant injustice of Rome, gave no handle to Roman hate, until at last, when Massinissa had pushed his seizures almost up to the gates, Carthage took up arms against him. By her treaty with Rome she had promised to engage in no war without Roman permission; and Rome at once seized the excuse to declare war. In vain Carthage then punished her leaders and proffered abject submission. Her envoys were promised freedom and independence if the city complied with the further demands of Rome. The Roman fleet and army proceeded to Africa with secret orders, and an act of masterful treachery was played out by successive steps. Hostages were demanded and received — three hundred boys from the noblest families. The walls were dismantled and the arsenals stripped, three thousand catapults and two hundred thousand stand of arms, with vast military supplies, being sent in long lines of wagons to the Roman army at Utica; then the shipping was all surrendered; and finally, when Carthage was supposedly helpless, came the announcement that the city must be destroyed and the people removed to some spot at least ten miles inland from the element on which from dim antiquity they had founded their wealth and power.

381. Heroic Resistance. — Despair blazed into passionate wrath, and the Carthaginians fitly chose death rather than such ruin and exile. Carelessly enough, the Roman army remained at a distance for some days, and meanwhile the dismantled and disarmed town became one great workshop for

war. Women gave their hair to make cords for catapults; the temples were ransacked for arms, and torn down for timber and metal; and to the angry dismay of Rome, Carthage stood a four years' siege, holding out heroically against famine, pestilence, and war. At last, in 146 B.C., the legions forced their way over the walls. For seven days more, the fighting continued from house to house, until at last a miserable remnant surrendered — fifty thousand of a population of seven hundred thousand. The commander Hasdrubal[1] did at the last moment make his peace with the Roman general; but his disdainful wife, taunting him from the burning temple roof as he knelt at Scipio's feet, first slew their two boys and then cast herself with them into the ruins; and numbers more chose likewise to die in the flames rather than pass into Roman slavery.

382. Carthage is "blotted out": Province of Africa. — For many days the city was given up to pillage; then, by express orders from Rome, it was deliberately burned to the ground, and its site plowed up, sown to salt, and cursed. To carry out this crime fell to the lot of one of the purest and noblest characters Rome ever produced, — *Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus*, the nephew and adopted grandson of Scipio Africanus.[2] As this last great Scipio watched the smoldering ruins (they burned for seventeen days) with his friend Polybius the historian, he spoke his fear that some day Rome might suffer a like fate, and he was heard to repeat Homer's lines: —

> "Yet come it will, the day decreed by fate,
> The day when thou, Imperial Troy, must bend,
> And see thy warriors fall, thy glories end."

What was left of the ancient territory of Carthage became the *Province of Africa*, with the capital at Utica; and, about two centuries later, under the Roman Empire, north Africa was to become a chief seat of Roman civilization and settlement.[3]

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[1] Not the Barcide Hasdrubal, of course.

[2] Scipio Aemilianus received the title of Africanus the Younger.

[3] Special reports: the final siege of Carthage; Massinissa and the kingdom he created.

For Further Reading. — With the beginning of the Second Punic War, Livy becomes an important authority (his account of the First War unfortunately is among the lost books of his History). Polybius wrote nearer the times (at the close of the Third War), and is the greater historian. Plutarch's *Lives* (*Fabius*, *Marcellus*) make fascinating reading.

Mommsen (bk. iii. chs. i.–ii., iv.–vii.), and Ihne (II. 3–115, 143–484, and III. 320–407) continue to be the two great modern guides. Pelham's excellence for certain parts of the story is noted in the text; his arrangement is admirable. For the struggle with Carthage, Smith's *Rome and Carthage* (Epochs) is convenient; and students will enjoy Church's *Carthage* (Story of the Nations). For the First Punic War, Freeman's *Story of Sicily* (ch. xiv.) is good. For the Second Punic War, Arnold's *History* is perhaps the best narrative. See, also, Dodge's *Hannibal* (Captains), and Morris' *Hannibal* (Heroes).

CHAPTER VII.

WINNING OF THE EAST, 201–146 B.C.

I. AN ATTEMPT AT PROTECTORATES.

383. Earlier Beginnings: the Illyrian Pirates and the First Macedonian War. — Ever since the repulse of Pyrrhus, Rome had been drifting into contact with the Greek kingdoms of the East. With Egypt she had an intimate alliance and close commercial intercourse. Between the first and second Punic wars, too, she had chastised the formidable pirate states of the Illyrian coasts, and so, as the guardian of order, had come into friendly relations and alliance with some of the cities in Greece.

Further than this, Rome showed no desire to go; but in 214 B.C. the league between Philip V. of Macedon and Hannibal (§ 370) drew her into war with Macedon. This first Macedonian War closed in 205 B.C., without material change in her relations in the East, and indeed she had waged it by means of her Aetolian allies, and only to prevent a Macedonian invasion; but it made later struggles inevitable.

384. Second Macedonian War. — In 205, Philip and Antiochus of Syria leagued to divide between them the dominions of Egypt, the ally of Rome, left just then to a boy king. Egypt was already becoming the granary of the Mediterranean, and Rome could not wisely see it pass into hostile hands. Philip also attacked Athens, another ally; and as soon as Rome's hands were freed by the peace with Carthage (201 B.C.), the senate strenuously persuaded the wearied and reluctant Assembly to enter upon the Second Macedonian War (200–196 B.C.). At *Cynoscephalae*, the pliable legion proved its superiority to the unwieldy phalanx — the only real fighting force of the

East (§ 352). As a result, Macedonia became a second-rate power. She was deprived of all her possessions in Greece, Thrace, and Asia Minor, and was made an ally of Rome. The Greeks were proclaimed free, and, along with Rhodes and Pergamum and other small states of Asia, became Rome's zealous and grateful allies, virtually under a Roman protectorate.

385. The War with Antiochus of Syria. — Meanwhile Antiochus, who had sheltered Hannibal, had also been plundering Egypt's possessions in Asia, and now he turned to seize Thrace, Greece, Pergamum, and Rhodes. Rome sincerely dreaded a

conflict with the "Great King," the Lord of Asia; but she had no choice unless she would desert her allies. The struggle proved easy and brief. In the second campaign, in 190 B.C., Roman legions for the first time invaded Asia, and at *Magnesia*, in Lydia, they shattered the power of Syria. That kingdom was reduced in territory and power, somewhat as Macedon had been; Rome's allies were rewarded with gifts of territory; and most of the Greek cities and small states of Asia were declared free, and really became friendly dependents of Rome.

386. Rome drawn on, against her Will, to this System of Eastern Protectorates.[1] — Thus, in eleven years (200–190 B.C.) after the

[1] Cf. § 376. Read Mommsen, II. 363 and 413–415, to support the quotations in this section.

close of the Second Punic War, Rome had set up a virtual protectorate over all the realms of Alexander's successors. This had come about, too, without definite self-seeking on her part; and so far she seemed unwilling to *annex* any eastern territory.

It is to be remembered that the disturbing forces in the East had been Macedon and Syria (and in Greece, the Aetolian and Achaean leagues), while the forces that stood for peace were Egypt, Rhodes, Pergamum, and the smaller Greek states. These pacific powers had turned to Rome for protection. Thus the motive back of Rome's advance was at first wholly unlike that of Alexander. It is true that the weakness of the eastern states drew the great western power on and on, and that her own methods became less and less scrupulous. Cruelty and cynical disregard for obligations more and more stamp her conduct. But, after all, "compared with the Ptolemies, Seleucids, and Antigonids, her hands were clean and her rule bearable. In that intolerable eastern hubbub, men's eyes turned still with envy and wonder to the stable and well-ordered Republic of the west." — How and Leigh, 257.

"The Roman senate, which so lately sat to devise means to save Rome from the grasp of Hannibal, now sits as a Court of International Justice for the whole civilized world, ready to hear the causes of every king or commonwealth that has any plaint against any other king or commonwealth. . . . The Roman Fathers judge the causes of powers which in theory are the equal allies of Rome; they judge by virtue of no law, of no treaty; they judge because the common instinct of mankind sees the one universal judge in the one power which has strength to enforce its judgments." — Freeman, *Chief Periods*, 58.

II. ANNEXATION — THE PROTECTORATES BECOME PROVINCES.

387. A Gradual Process. — Rome could not stop with protectorates. The client states had neither the blessings of real liberty nor the assured good order of provinces; and gradually Rome was led into a process of annexation in the civilized East, as already in the barbarous West. By 146 A.D., this process was well under way; and in the next one hundred years — before the day of the Caesars — the old power of *influence over "allies"* had everywhere transformed itself into *dominion over provinces.*

388. The Change in Roman Policy and its Causes. — The occasions were of three kinds: (*a*) the intrigues against Rome by Perseus, the new king of Macedon; (*b*) the internal anarchy and mutual feuds between the small Greek states; and (*c*) the growing jealousy felt by Rome herself toward any marked prosperity on the part of even her most friendly allies.

On the whole the first two causes worked in the earlier part of the period, and the third and meaner one toward the close only. But unhappily appetite for power grew with its exercise; and finally to complete the extension of her sway in the East, where she had at first hesitated over-modestly, Rome sank to arts, treacheries, and violences, as base and high-handed as those that marked her treatment of Carthage.

389. A Few Great Steps in the Process. — The plots of Perseus made inevitable a *Third War with Macedonia*, and the Roman victory of *Pydna* (168 B.C.) closed the life of that ancient kingdom. It was broken up into four petty republics, which were provinces of Rome in all but name and good order: they paid tribute, were disarmed, and were forbidden mutual intercourse, but did not at first receive a Roman governor or obtain the benefits of firm administration. Seventeen years later an attempt of a pretended son of Perseus to restore the ancient monarchy led to the full establishment of the Roman "Province of Macedonia," with a Roman magistrate at its head (146 B.C.).

The same year witnessed important rearrangements in *Greece*. Various factions there had sympathized with Perseus in his hopeless struggle, and had been sternly or cruelly punished. The Roman senate was called upon in the years that followed to listen to ceaseless wearisome complaints from one Greek city or party against another, and finally the clash came with the Achaeans, who recklessly defied repeated Roman warnings. The Achaean confederacy fell easily before Roman arms, in 146 B.C. Corinth, by order of the senate, was burned and its site cursed. Greece was not yet made a

province, but it was treated as Macedon had been just after Pydna, and was virtually ruled by the Roman governor of Macedon.[1] Thus the one year 146 B.C. saw the last territory of Carthage made a Roman province and the first province formed in the old empire of Alexander, together with the destruction of the ancient cities of Carthage and Corinth.

The destruction of Corinth was a greater crime than that of Carthage, Syracuse, Capua, or of the other capitals that Roman municipal envy laid low. Corinth was the great emporium of Greece, and its ruin was due mainly to the jealousy of the commercial class in Rome. Its art treasures, so far as preserved, became the plunder of the Roman state; but much was lost. Polybius saw common soldiers playing at dice, amid the still smoking ruins, on the paintings of the greatest masters.

A few years later (133 B.C.) the king of Pergamum willed to Rome his realms, which became the new *Province of Asia*. Further progress in the East in this period consisted in jealously reducing friendly and nominally independent allies, like Rhodes, to a condition of acknowledged subjection, and in openly setting up protectorates over Egypt and Syria.

It is in this last series of events that Rome's lust for power begins to show most hatefully. She had no more generosity for a strong ally than she had magnanimity toward a fallen foe, and her treatment of Pergamum gains little by contrast with her perfidious dealings with Carthage.

III. GENERAL RESULT IN 146 B.C. — A GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD UNDER ROMAN SWAY.

390. Rome the Sole Great Power. — In 264 B.C. Rome had been one (and the latest) of five Great Powers (§ 356). By the peace of 201 B.C., after Zama, Carthage disappeared from that list. Then, in the next fifty years, Cynoscephalae, Magnesia, Pydna, and Roman diplomacy removed the others. In

[1] A century later, Greece became the Province of Achaea. About the same time, Corinth was rebuilt by Caesar, and Carthage by Octavius, to become great commercial centers again.

146 B.C. Rome was the sole Great Power. She had absorbed into provinces all the dominions of Carthage and Macedon; Egypt and Syria had become her protectorates, and all the smaller states had been brought within her "sphere of influence." She held the heritage of Alexander as well as that of Carthage. Much extension of territory was yet to come, but the final result was now a foregone conclusion. There remained no state able to dream of real equality with Rome.

391. Distinction between the Latin West and the Greek East. — The neglect in establishing firmer order in the East was to bear fruits in future wars; but here, at the close of the period, we may note that while Rome was really mistress both East and West, her relations with the two sections were widely different. In the West, Rome appeared on the stage as the successor of Carthage, and to the majority of her western subjects, despite some terrible cruelties in war, she brought better order and higher civilization than they had known — creating a new Roman world in which even Greek cities like Massilia could lose themselves willingly. In the East, she appeared first as the liberator of the Greeks. Her provincial system and the good Roman order were introduced very slowly; and to the last, the East remained Greek, not Roman, in language, customs, and thought. The Adriatic continued to divide the Latin and Greek civilizations when the two shared the world under the sway of Rome.

FOR FURTHER READING. — An admirable brief treatment of the expansion in the East, in Pelham, 140–157. Mommsen and Ihne give sharply opposed views of Rome's intentions in Greece; their works may be consulted for the period by advanced students. The histories of Greece that deal with this period are useful, especially Holm, IV., Thirwall, and Mahaffy. Plutarch's *Lives* (*Paulus*, *Aemilius*, *Flaminius*), as usual. All should read the noble summary of the whole period of Roman expansion in Freeman's *Chief Periods*, 45–59.

CHAPTER VIII.

NEW CIVIL STRIFE, 146–49 B.C.

I. PRELIMINARY SURVEY.

392. Summary of Periods under the Republic.[1] — Republican Rome falls into three broad divisions.

a. An internal struggle between plebs and patricians, resulting finally in *a fusion of the old classes* (a century and a half, 510–367 B.C.).

b. Expansion by this united Rome (two centuries): over Italy (367–266 B.C.); over the Mediterranean coasts (264–146 B.C.).

c. A century of new class struggles — *division between rich and poor*, and between Italy and the Provinces, resulting in despotism (146–49 B.C.).

The period of growth comes between the fusion of patricians and plebeians and the fission of rich and poor. This period of renewed internal strife is the subject of this chapter.[2]

393. The Roman Republic unprepared for World-dominion. — Rome had left no state able to keep the seas or guard the frontiers of civilization. It was therefore her plain duty to police the Mediterranean lands herself. In her attempts to do this, she was drawn on from conquest to conquest, and became mistress of the world before she had learned how to rule it. Formerly she had devised a system fit for a free city

[1] The relations of the periods of the Roman Republic to each other have been somewhat obscured by the introduction of chapter v. and by the subdivision of the era of expansion into three other chapters.

[2] The student should note the vital differences between the class struggle treated in this chapter and the earlier one between patricians and plebeians. It is not hard to see which one bears more closely upon questions of our day.

as the center of allied Italy (§§ 336, 343); but now she failed to create a new system fit for a free city as the center of the world. The reaction of her conquests, too, lowered her own moral tone and contributed to her decay, economic and political, until she could no longer fulfill her old task of governing Italy, or even herself. From the path of empire there was no retreat; but to that empire the city-commonwealth was to sacrifice its own liberty.

394. The Four Great Evils. — There followed a miserable century of plunder in the provinces and of civil strife at home. The internal conflict was threefold: in Rome itself, between rich and poor; in Italy, between Rome and the "Allies"; in the empire, between Italy and the Provinces. At the same time, the police duty itself was neglected: the seas swarmed with pirate fleets, and new barbarian thunderclouds gathered unwatched on all the frontiers.

395. The Need of a New System (Preparation for the Empire). — The irresponsible senatorial oligarchy proved incompetent and indisposed to grapple with these problems, and its jealousy crushed individual statesmen who tried to heal the diseases of the state in constitutional ways. A century later, the situation had become unbearable within, and the Roman world seemed on the verge of ruin from barbarian assault from without. But, after all, the vigor of the Italian race was unexhausted; and the break-down of senatorial rule, and the danger of a worse mob rule, bred the only resource, — the military rule of Marius, Sulla, Pompey, and Caesar.

These leaders began a new system. We call it the Empire. Its essence was to be the concentration of power and responsibility. It was to remedy much. For centuries it guarded civilization against attacks from without, while it secured order, good government, and prosperity within. Political life for the people it could not restore. To combine liberty with imperial extent was to be left to a later race on a new stage.

The interest in the "third period" of the Republic, upon which we now enter, lies in the fact that it was a preparation for this coming Empire.

II. THE EVILS IN DETAIL.

A. In Rome.

396. Economic and Moral Decline due to the Great Wars. — A social revolution preceded the political revolution. A tendency to economic and moral decline is plain before the close of the Second Punic War. Even a glorious war tends to demoralize an industrial society — to corrupt morals and to create extremes of wealth and poverty. Extreme poverty brings with it further lowering of the moral tone; quick-won and illegitimate wealth does so, too. And then moral decay shows in the state in political disease. The Second Punic War teaches this lesson to the full.

Italy had lost a million lives — the flower of the citizen body. The Roman burgesses alone fell off from two hundred and ninety-eight thousand to two hundred and fourteen thousand. Over much of the peninsula the homesteads of the rest had been devastated beyond recovery; while years of incessant camp life, with plunder for pay, had ruined the simple tastes of the old yeoman soldier. In the ruin of the small farmer, Hannibal had dealt his enemy a deadlier blow than he ever knew.

Legitimate trade, too, had stagnated, and illegitimate profits were eagerly sought. The merchants who had risked their wealth so enthusiastically to supply their country in her dire need after Cannae, began to indemnify themselves, as soon as that peril was over, by fraudulent war contracts and by scuttling their over-insured ships, supposed to be loaded with army supplies for Spain or Africa. Later conquests gave this class even greater opportunities. Alongside the impoverished farmer and the starving rabble, there sprang up a coarse plutocracy, based on rapacious plunder of the enemy's country,

fraudulent contracts with the government at home, reckless speculation, and unjust appropriation of the public lands. With this new order of wealthy *Equites* and with the senatorial class, sumptuous luxury replaced the old Roman simplicity. As the satirist Juvenal wrote later: —

"Luxury has fallen upon us — more terrible than the sword. The conquered East has avenged herself by the gift of her vices."

The economic phenomena, good and bad, that had occurred in the Greek world (§§ 244 and 254) after the conquests of Alexander, were now repeated on a larger scale in Italy — with this significant difference, that the coarser Roman resorted too often to tawdry display and to gluttony or other brutal excesses, from which the more refined and temperate Greek turned with disgust.

397. The Continued Decline of the Yeomanry after the Wars through the working of "Economic Laws." [1]

"Clearly a difficult point for government, that of dealing with these masses; if, indeed, it be not rather the sole point and problem of government, and all other points mere accidental crotchets, superficialities, and beatings of the wind." — CARLYLE, *French Revolution.*

In the ancient world, the land question was what the wage question is to our more complex industrial society. It had long been important at Rome. Now it became vital.

The rift between rich and poor, which war and unjust privilege had begun, went on widening. Especially were the surviving yeomanry squeezed off the land. This came about through certain economic tendencies that should have been checked. Sicily and other grain provinces supplied Italian cities with cheap corn that undersold the Italian farmer. The large landlord turned to more profitable cattle-grazing, or to wine and oil culture. The small farmer had no such escape, for all these forms of industry called for large tracts and slave labor. For grazing, or often simply for pleasure

[1] Mommsen, III. 304–308, 311–314; Ihne, IV. ch. xii.

resorts, the new capitalists wanted huge domains, and were ready to buy out the poor yeomen, whose lessened profits made them willing to sell. The wars in the East furnished an abundance of cheap slaves. Thus we have a group of factors, all tending to the same end: (*a*) the cheap grain from the provinces; (*b*) the introduction of a new industry better suited to large holdings and to slave labor; (*c*) the growth of large fortunes eager for landed investment; (*d*) the growth of a cheap slave supply. And so great ranches, with a few slave herdsmen and their flocks, took the place of many cottages on small, well-tilled farms, each once with its independent family of Italian citizens. The small farmers, formerly the backbone of Italian society in peace and war alike, drifted from the soil to form a degenerate town rabble at the capital. There they became the masters and the means of designing politicians, who amused them with festivals and gladiatorial shows, and who were finally to support them, at state expense, with free grain.[1] The lines of an English poet, two thousand years later, regarding similar phenomena in his own country, apply to this Italy: —

> "Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
> Where wealth accumulates, and men decay!"

398. Violence of the Rich as a Cause of the Decay of the Yeomanry.[2] — To war and natural economic causes were added force and fraud on a large scale, especially in the more secluded regions, where, despite all discouragements, the small farmers clung stubbornly to their ancestral fields. The Latin poet Horace (*Odes*, ii. 23–28) describes the violence and trickery of the great landlord toward his helpless victim in pathetic words that resemble those of Sir Thomas More in England in the sixteenth century regarding like conditions there.

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[1] In this case, decline in morals was essentially a result, not a cause, of the economic change.

[2] Mommsen, III. 313.

399. Political Results: the Decline of the Senate and the Growth of the Mob. — The economic change produced moral deterioration, and this in turn produced political decay. The old constitution, unchanged in theory, became a plaything tossed back and forth between an incapable, effeminate, luxurious nobility and a mongrel, idle, hungry town mob reinforced by freed slaves from all the provinces. Old ideas of loyalty, obedience, regard for law, self-restraint, grew rarer. Young nobles flattered and caressed the populace for votes.[1] Bribery became undisguised and rampant. Statesmen came to disregard all checks of the constitution in order to carry a point.

The senatorial nobility let all things take their course, careful only for their own place and fortune, grasping at the profits, but shirking the responsibilities, of empire. They closed their own ranks by a law according to which a candidate could acquire the great offices only in a certain order, beginning as quaestor,—while the lowest curule office, the aedileship, became so burdened with costly spectacles and games that only the wealthiest or most reckless could start upon a political career.[2] Of course, among the cowardly and dissolute aristocrats there were noble exceptions; but Mommsen, who so generously applauded the senate of 200 B.C. (§ 347), says of its successor eighty years later: —

"It sat on the vacated throne with an evil conscience and divided hopes, indignant at the institutions of the state which it ruled, and yet incapable of even systematically assailing them, vacillating in all its conduct except where its own material advantage prompted a decision, a picture of faithlessness toward its own as well as the opposite party, of inward inconsistency, of the most pitiful impotence, of the meanest selfishness, — an unsurpassed ideal of misrule."

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[1] On the rabble, cf. Mommsen, III. 35–40 and 329–332. Few were those who could defy the hissings as did the younger Africanus: "Silence, ye stepchildren of Italy. Think ye I fear those whom I myself brought in chains to Rome?"

[2] Ihne, II. 481; Mommsen, III. 40–42 and 124–126. Special report: new games and festivals in this period. On the effect of the lack of salary for public service, cf. §§ 197 and 264.

B. In Italy.[1]

400. Sharpened Distinctions and Growing Roman Insolence. — Admission to Roman citizenship from without almost ceased. New Latin colonies were no longer founded. Laws restricted the old freedom of Latin migration, and confounded the Latins with the other allies. The grade of passive citizens, too, disappeared, partly by promotion, partly by degradation.

The allies were given a smaller share of the war plunder, and were called upon to double their proportion of soldiers for the legions. Worse than all this, was the occasional insolence or brutality of a Roman official. In one town the city consul was stripped and scourged because the wife of a Roman magistrate felt aggrieved that the public baths were not vacated quickly enough when she desired to use them; in another, a young Roman idler, looking on languidly from his litter, caused a free herdsman to be whipped to death for a light jest at his expense.[2]

C. In the Provinces.[3]

401. Irregular Growth of the System and its Deterioration. — The growth of provincial government had been a matter of patchwork and makeshifts, without any comprehensive views of Roman interests or any earnest desire to govern for the good of the provincials. Both these things had to wait for the Caesars. Meantime the Republic began its world-rule by adopting, with some modifications, the systems of taxation it found in force in its different conquests. At first the Roman administration was more honest, capable, and just, than the

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[1] Mommsen, III. 23–29.

[2] These facts are stated by the younger Gracchus (§ 413) in his speeches for reform in the year 123.

[3] Mommsen, III. 29–35; Ihne, IV. 197–208; Pelham, 174–186, 327–329; Alcroft and Masom, 281–286 (excellent); Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, 40–88. On the governor's tyranny, Cicero's *Oration against Verres*, or the chapter on "A Roman Magistrate" in Church's *Roman Life in the Days of Cicero*.

Carthaginian or the Greek. But irresponsible power bred recklessness and corruption. Deterioration soon set in; and before 100 B.C. it was dubious whether the West had gained by the fall of Carthage. It took the Empire with its better aims and methods to dispel the doubt.

402. Marks of a Province. — Even at the worst, existing institutions were everywhere respected, with true Roman tolerance. There were much the same distinctions between communities as in Italy, with a like jealous isolation of each from each; but the cities were left their self-control for purely local concerns, and some nominally were independent allies, with special exemption from taxes. In general, however, the distinctive marks of a province, as opposed to Italian communities, were (*a*) payment of tribute, (*b*) disarmament, and (*c*) the absolute rule of a resident Roman governor.

403. The Governor. — The actual working of the system rested with the governor, and everything tended to make him an extortionate tyrant. He was appointed by the senate (after a while, from those who had just held consulships or praetorships), with the title of pro-consul or pro-praetor; that is, with the imperium of a consul or praetor. In fact, he had power even in peace as great as the consul exercised at the head of his army. He had no colleague; there was no appeal from his decrees; there was no tribune to veto his act; he had soldiery to enforce his commands; his whole official staff went out with him, and were strictly subordinate to him. The persons of the provincials were at his mercy: Flamininus in Cisalpine Gaul caused a noble Gaul, a fugitive in his camp, to be beheaded, merely to gratify with the sight a worthless favorite who had missed the gladiatorial games at Rome by following him to the province. There was even less check upon the governor's financial oppression: all offices were unpaid; the way to them was through vast expense; and the plundering of a province came to be looked upon as the natural means of recouping one's self for previous outlay and for a temporary

exile from Rome. In short, the senatorial nobility passed around the provinces among themselves as so much spoil.

A governor might be impeached, it is true, *after* his term had expired; but it could be done only at Rome. Poor provincials, of course, had to endure any abuse without even seeking redress; and in any case it was rarely possible to secure conviction of the grossest offenders. The only court for such trials was made up of senators (later, of senators and equites), who too often were themselves interested in similar exploitations; and, with the best of them, class spirit stood in the way of convicting an offending noble.

When other resources failed to secure acquittal, the culprit could fall back on bribery. When Verres was given the province of Sicily for three years, Cicero tells us, he cynically declared it quite enough: "In the first year he could secure enough plunder for himself; in the second for his friends; in the third for his judges."

404. The "Estates of the Roman People." — It was not the senatorial class alone, however, who enriched themselves from the provinces. All Rome, and indeed all Italy, drew profit from them. The state secured its immense revenues now mainly from taxation of the provincials, and from its domains and mines in the provinces. The equites, organized in companies (publicans) or as private speculators, with their agents, swarmed by tens of thousands in every rich province. They conducted all public works, with corrupt contracts; "farmed" the taxes (that is, paid the Roman treasury a fixed amount, and then squeezed from the province as much more as they could); loaned money at infamous interest; and, dividing their ill-gotten plunder with the governor, exploited the unhappy provincials mercilessly.[1] The populace looked to the provinces for cheap grain, and for wild-beast shows and other spectacles. "Italy was to rule and feast; the provinces were to obey and

[1] Read Arnold, *Provincial Administration*, 82, 83.

pay." And withal it was nobody's business in particular to see that these "farms of the Roman peeple" were not rapidly and wastefully exhausted.

D. Slavery.[1]

405. Extent and Brutal Character. — Roman slavery in this period was unparalleled in its immensity and degradation. Mommsen is probably right in saying that in comparison with its abyss of suffering all negro slavery is but as a drop. To keep up the supply, man hunts were regularly organized on the frontiers, and even some of the provinces were desolated by kidnappers. At one market (Delos) ten thousand slaves were sold in a day. The slaves came largely from the cultured East. They made schoolmasters, secretaries, stewards; but they made also the savage herdsmen and the hordes of branded and shackled laborers clothed in rags and sleeping in underground dungeons. The maxim of even the model Roman, Cato, was to work them like so many cattle, selling off the old and infirm; "The slave," said he, "should be always either working or sleeping." With the worse class of masters the brutal Roman nature vented itself in inhuman cruelties. The result was expressed in the saying — "So many slaves, so many enemies." The truth of this maxim was to find too much proof.

406. Slave Wars. — In the year 135 came the first of a long series of slave revolts. Seventy thousand insurgent slaves were masters of Sicily for four years, defeating army after army that Rome sent against them, and desolating the island with indescribable horrors. Thirty years later, when Rome was trembling before the Teutonic invasion (§ 421), occurred a Second Sicilian Slave War — more formidable even than the first,[2] lasting five years. Other slave risings took place at the same time. Another thirty years, and there came the terrible

[1] Mommsen, III. 68–73, 305–311; or Beesly, *The Gracchi*, 10–14.

[2] Mommsen, III. 382–387, and Freeman's *Story of Sicily*.

slave revolt in Italy itself, headed by the gallant Spartacus, a Thracian captive and gladiator, who kept the field three years and even menaced Rome.

For Further Reading. — For an early authority, *Appian*, II. (White's translation). Very full surveys in Ihne, IV. and Mommsen, bk. iii. chs. xi.–xiii. and bk. iv. first part of ch. ii. A good brief account in Beesly's *The Gracchi*, opening pages, or in Merivale's *Fall of Roman Republic*, ch. i. The more important points (especially the *Provinces*) are given full references in the footnotes. Long's *Decline of the Roman Republic* (5 vols.) may be consulted by advanced students.

Special Reports. — The Second Sicilian Slave War, and the revolt of Spartacus.

III. THE GRACCHI — ATTEMPTS AT PEACEFUL REFORM.

A. Tiberius Gracchus.

407. Previous Suggestions for Reform. — To remedy a system so fundamentally rotten was a task that called for a union of enthusiastic devotion with a lofty, statesmanlike intelligence. Cato the Censor — austere, upright, energetic, but coarse and narrow — spent his force foolishly in fighting the new Hellenic culture and the rising standard of comfort. He did not touch the real evils or suggest any remedy for their causes. Indeed, he himself, instead of being a yeoman farmer like his model Manius (§ 349), was the owner of great plantations worked by slave labor.[1]

There seemed for a time one other chance. Just after 146 B.C., Scipio Africanus the Younger was the foremost man at Rome. He was liberal, virtuous, cultivated. Many looked hopefully to him for reform. He saw the evils clearly, but he shrank from a struggle with his order; and he betrayed his despair when he laid down his censorship by praying the gods,

[1] A charming picture of the best side of Cato is given in Mommsen, III. 117 ff. See Plutarch's *Life*, and also Ihne, IV. 324 ff.

not, in the usual formula, to *enlarge* the glory of Rome, but to *preserve* the State.[1]

408. Tiberius Gracchus.[2] — Thus the great attempt fell to the Gracchi brothers, throbbing with the fire of genius and the noble passion of youth. Tiberius Gracchus was still under thirty at his death. He was one of the brilliant circle of young Romans about Scipio. His father had been a magnificent aristocrat. His mother, *Cornelia*, a daughter of the older Africanus, is as famous for her fine culture and noble nature as for being the "Mother of the Gracchi." Tiberius himself was already distinguished in war and marked by his probity and energy. This was the man who struck at the root of the economic, moral, and political decay of Italy, by trying to save and rebuild the yeoman class.

409. Tiberius' Agrarian Proposals. — Tiberius obtained the tribuneship for 133 B.C., and at once brought forward his agrarian law, which was the land clause of the old Licinian Rogations (§ 326) in a gentler but more effective form. That ancient enactment had become obsolete, and the public land had again fallen by mere corrupt favoritism into the hands of the wealthy, who paid no return for its use. The proposal of Gracchus was threefold.

a. Each holder of state land was to surrender all that he occupied in excess of five hundred jugera, receiving in return absolute title to the five hundred left him (provided also that he might keep two hundred and fifty jugera more for a son). This was mild and wise, and neither confiscation nor demagogism.

b. The land so reclaimed was to be given in small holdings (thirty jugera) to poor applicants, so as to re-create a peasantry. And to make the reform lasting, these holders were to possess

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[1] On certain minor reforms in this period, especially the introduction of the ballot in the comitia tributa, see Mommsen, III. 299 ff.

[2] Beesly, 23–37; Ihne, bk. vii. ch. ii.; Mommsen, III. 320–333, for a less cordial view; Plutarch's *Life*.

their land *in perpetual lease* (on payment of a small rent to the state) *without right to sell.*

c. To provide for changes, and to keep the law from becoming obsolete, there was to be a *permanent board* of three commissioners to superintend the reclaiming and distributing of land.

410. The Struggle. — Gracchus urged his law with fiery eloquence.

"The wild beasts of Italy have their dens, but the brave men who spill their blood for her are without homes or settled habitations. Their generals do but mock them when they exhort their men to fight for their sepulchers and the gods of their hearths; for among such numbers there is perhaps not one who has an ancestral altar. The private soldiers fight and die to advance the luxury of the great, and they are called masters of the world without having a sod to call their own."

The senate of course opposed the proposal, but Tiberius brought it directly before the tribes, as he had the right to do. The senate fell back upon a favorite device. It put up one of Tiberius' colleagues, a personal friend, Octavius, to forbid a vote. After many pleadings and long delay, Tiberius resorted to revolutionary measures. In spite of his colleague's veto, he put to the tribes the question whether he or Octavius should be deposed; and when the vote was given unanimously against Octavius, Tiberius had him dragged forth from his seat.[1] Then the great law was passed.

411. Further Conflict; Gracchus Murdered. — At this time the last king of Pergamum, by will, left his treasure to the Roman people. Gracchus proposed to divide the money among the new peasantry to stock their farms. He also desired to extend Roman citizenship to all Italy. The senate accused him of trying to make himself king (§ 319), and threatened to impeach him at the expiration of his term. To complete his work, and possibly to save himself, Gracchus asked for reëlection. The

[1] On the morality of this act, cf. Beesly's *The Gracchi*, 32, 33, and Mommsen, III. 323 and 330.

first two tribes voted for him, and then the senate, having failed in other methods, declared his candidacy illegal.[1] The election was adjourned to the next day, and the end was not difficult to foresee. Tiberius put on mourning and commended his infant son to the protection of the people. It was harvest time, and the farmers were absent from the Assembly, which was left largely to the worthless city rabble. On the following day the election was again forbidden. A riot broke out, and the more violent of the senators and their friends, charging the undecided mob, put it to flight and murdered Gracchus — a patriot-martyr worthy of the company of the Cassius, Manlius, and Maelius of earlier days. Some three hundred of his adherents also were killed and thrown into the Tiber. Rome, in all her centuries of stern, sober, patient, constitutional strife, had never witnessed such a day before.

412. The Work of Gracchus lived. — The whole aristocratic party felt constrained to approve the outrage, rather than abandon their partisans to popular vengeance. Accordingly the senate declared the murder an act of patriotism and followed up the reformer's partisans with mock trials and persecutions (fastening one of them, says Plutarch, in a chest with vipers), but it did not dare interfere with the great law that had been carried. A consul for 132 B.C. inscribed on a monument, that he was the first who had installed farmers in place of shepherds on the public domains. The land commission (composed of the friends of Tiberius) did its work zealously, and in 125 B.C. the burgess list of Rome had increased by eighty thousand farmers. It seems probable that the movement, in some less degree, was carried on also over the rest of Italy, and certainly it constituted a vast and healthful reform.[2] But of course a time came when to reclaim further land involved bitter disputes as to title, and the senate took advantage of the fact to abolish the commission.[3]

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[1] Beesly, 35.

[2] Mommsen, III. 334–335, or Beesly, 39.

[3] Mommsen, III. 336–337.

B. Caius Gracchus.[1]

413. Character and Aims. — Immediately after this reaction, and just nine years after his brother's death, *Caius Gracchus* took up the work. He had been a youth when Tiberius was assassinated; now he was Rome's greatest orator, — a dauntless, resolute, clear-sighted man, long brooding on personal revenge and on patriotic reform. Tiberius, he declared, appeared to him in a dream to call him to his task: "Why do you hesitate? You cannot escape your doom and mine — to live for the people and to die for them!"

Tiberius had striven only for economic reform. Caius had learned the necessity of buttressing his social change by political reform. Apparently he meant to overthrow the senate and to set up a new constitution something like that of Athens under Pericles.

414. Political Measures, to win Allies. — The city mob Gracchus secured by a *corn law* providing for the distribution of cheaper grain to the poor in the capital, the difference to be made up from the public treasury.[2] This, perhaps, he regarded as a necessary poor-law, and as a compensation for the public lands that still remained in the hands of the wealthy. It did not pauperize the poor, since such distributions by private patrons were already customary on a vast scale; it simply took this charity into the hands of the state, and if Gracchus' other measures could have been carried through, the need for such charity would have been removed; but it certainly introduced a vicious and fatal system of legislative bribery, where in the end the well-meaning patriot was sure to be outbidden by the reckless demagogue. For the moment, however, it won the tribes.

The equites also Caius won, by taking the law courts from the

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[1] Mommsen, bk. iv. ch. iii.; Beesly, 42–65; Ihne, bk. vii. ch. iv.; Plutarch's *Life*.

[2] Cf. Mommsen, III. 344, and Beesly, 48–50, for differing views.

senate to place them in their hands — a measure that did something, perhaps, to secure better government in the provinces.

415. Economic Reform. — Then, with these political alliances to back him, he took up his brother's work. The land commission was reëstablished, and its work was extended to the founding of Roman colonies in distant parts of Italy. Still more important, — Caius introduced the plan of Roman colonization outside Italy. He actually sent six thousand colonists from Rome and other Italian towns to the waste site of Carthage; and he planned many other such foundations. The colonists were to keep full Roman citizenship. This statesmanlike measure, if it had been allowed to work, would not only have provided for the proletariat of Italy; it would also have Romanized the provinces more rapidly, and have broken down the invidious distinctions between them and Italy. Thus the plan marks a radical change in the Roman conception of "colonies." The older Roman colonies had been primarily military in purpose; from this time they became political and socialistic in character.

416. Personal Rule: an Uncrowned "Tyrant." — But the peculiar feature of Caius' work was the degree to which he drew all the government into his own hands. By various means and laws he took away authority from the senate, and himself ruled in its place. He had tried to provide against his brother's fate by a law expressly legalizing reëlection to the tribuneship, and he served two terms, virtually as dictator.

"With unrivaled activity, Caius concentrated the most varied and complicated functions in his own person. He himself watched over the distribution of grain, selected jurymen, founded colonies in person notwithstanding that his magistracy legally chained him to the city, regulated highways and concluded business contracts, led the discussions of the senate, settled the consular elections; in short, he accustomed the people to the fact that one man was foremost in all things, and threw the lax and lame administration of the senate into the shade by the vigor and dexterity of his personal rule." — Mommsen, III. 355.[1]

[1] See also *ib.*, 356–361, as to the constitutional designs of Caius.

417. Attempt to extend Citizenship to Italians: Fall of Caius. — Caius also pressed earnestly for political reform outside the city. He proposed, wisely and nobly, to confer full citizenship upon the Latins, and Latin rights upon all Italy; but here the tribes, jealous of any extension of their privileges to others, were easily brought to desert him. The senate seized its chance; it set on another tribune, Drusus, to outbid Caius with the tribes by impossible promises never meant to be kept;[1] and when Gracchus stood for a third election he was defeated.

Now that he was no longer protected by the sanctity of office, the whole senatorial party, headed by a ferocious personal enemy, determined on his ruin. The chance soon came. An attempt to repeal the law for his colony at Carthage brought into the city many of Caius' adherents, who, remembering the fate of Tiberius, came armed. The consul, on the other hand, called the organized senatorial party to arms, and began the attack. A bloody battle followed in the streets. Gracchus, taking no part in the conflict himself, was slain; and three thousand of his adherents were afterward strangled in prison. As with his brother, not the strength of his foes, but the weakness of his friends, overthrew him.

418. Overthrow of the Work of the Two Brothers. — The victorious senate struck hard. It resumed its sovereign rule. The proposed colonies were abandoned, and the great agrarian reform itself was undone. The yeomen were permitted to sell their land, and the commission was abolished. The old economic decay began again, and soon the work of the Gracchi was but a memory. Even that memory the senate tried to proscribe. Men were forbidden to speak of the brothers, and Cornelia was not allowed to wear mourning for her sons. But one lesson had been taught: the senate had drawn the sword; and when a Marius or a Caesar should attempt again to take up the work of the Gracchi, he would appear as a military

[1] Beesly, 57; Mommsen, III. 364, 365.

master, to sweep away the wretched senate with the sword, or to receive their cringing submission.

For Further Reading. — Beesly, *The Gracchi* (Epochs); Mommsen, bk. iv. chs. ii. and iii.; Ihne, V.; Merivale's *Fall of the Republic*, ch. i.; Plutarch, *Lives* of *Tiberius* and *Caius Gracchus*; Long's *Decline*, for special reference by advanced students. Detailed references have been given in the text above.

IV. MARIUS AND SULLA, 107–78 B.C.

419. New Character of Roman History. — In earlier times Rome had been greater than any of her citizens. But after 146 B.C. the history of the republic is summed up in a series of biographies; and soon the only question is, which man will finally seize the sovereignty. This phase of Roman history really begins with the younger Africanus and closes with Julius Caesar and Octavius; but it is with Marius and Sulla (halfway between) that the new character first shows without disguise.

420. The War with Jugurtha. — For some twenty years, however, after the murder of the Gracchi, the senate's rule was undisturbed. But a prolonged fourteen-year border war again revealed in glaring colors its venality and incapacity, and brought military masters to the front. Jugurtha, grandnephew of Massinissa, — brave, crafty, cruel, — had made himself king of Numidia by the assassination of a series of Roman client princes. He bribed Roman investigating commissioners; bought a consul who had been sent to attack him; and, being summoned to Rome after massacring thousands of Italians and provincials, he bought his acquittal from the senate itself. But an indignant tribune brought the matter directly before the tribes and so stirred their indignation and wrath that war at last was prosecuted in earnest. Its progress revealed the utter corruption of the army, but it finally called out two great captains: one was the rude soldier *Marius*, son of a Volscian day laborer, who had risen from the ranks, and

who by the votes of the people, without having been praetor, was made consul to prosecute the war; the other was his aristocratic lieutenant, *Sulla*.

421. Marius the "Savior of Rome." — Suddenly a long-gathering storm broke upon the northern frontier. The *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, two German[1] peoples, migrating slowly with families, flocks, and goods, in search of new homes in the fertile south, had reached the passes of the Alps in 113 B.C. These barbarians were huge, flaxen-haired, with fierce blue eyes, and they terrified the smaller Italians by their mere size, their terrific shouts, and their savage customs.

A Roman consul who tried to entrap these strangers treacherously was defeated and slain; but, leaving Italy on one side for the time, the Germans crowded into Gaul; there they harried the native tribes at will, and, after defeating four more Roman armies (the last with slaughter that recalled the day of Cannae), they finally threatened Italy itself. At the same time the Second Slave War had broken out in Sicily (§ 406).

Rome had found a general none too soon. Marius was just finishing his work in Africa. In his absence he was reëlected consul — despite the law, which required a candidate to appear in person and forbade an immediate reëlection in any case — and intrusted with the defense of Italy. Happily, the Germans gave him time, by turning for two years more into Spain. Marius used the interval in raising and drilling troops, and in reorganizing the whole military system. Then, in the summer of 102 B.C., at *Aquae Sextiae* (Aix), in southern Gaul, he annihilated the two hundred thousand warriors of the Cimbri, with all their women and children, in a huge massacre; and the next summer he destroyed in like manner the vast horde of the Teutones, who had penetrated to the Po. The first German nation to attack Rome had been given graves in her soil, and Italy was saved for five hundred years.[2]

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[1] See Mommsen, III. 430–431.

[2] On this first German attack, see Mommsen, bk. iv. ch. v., and Ihne, V. ch. ix.

422 Civil Disorder, and the Retirement of Marius. — Marius had already been given the consulship five successive years in defiance of the constitution, — a prelude to the coming military monarchy. Now the demagogues who led the popular party in Rome tried to use him for their revolutionary ends. Marius had political ambition, and he was a democrat by conviction and sympathy; but he was as incapable in politics as he was great in war. Finally, civil strife broke into street war; but Marius was too moderate for his allies. He looked on while the radicals were crushed; then he found himself discredited with both parties, and with chagrin he retired into obscurity for many years.

423. Proposals of Drusus, and the Social War. — Meantime, in 91 B.C., the tribune Drusus — the haughty, upright leader of the small liberal party in the senate, and son of the enemy of the Gracchi — took up the work of the ancient enemies of his house, proposing to extend citizenship to the Italians and to reform the senate at home. Civil war in Rome was again imminent; but Drusus was assassinated, and then (instead of civil war) the Italians rose in arms. Once more Rome fought for very life, surrounded by a ring of foes. The *Social War* (war with the *Socii*, or allies) was as dangerous a contest as the imperial city ever waged. Two things saved her: the division of her foes by her prompt concession of citizenship to all the allies who had not yet rebelled and to all who would at once lay down their arms; and the magnificent generalship of Sulla, the senatorial champion, who now began to outshine Marius as the savior of Rome. Marius' generalship seems to have been as successful as ever; but he was disliked by the senate and was suspected by all of at heart favoring the demands of the Italians.

424. All Italy enters the Roman State. — The allies were crushed, but their cause won. When the war was over, Rome gradually incorporated all Italy, up to the Po, into the Roman state, raising the number of burgesses from about four hundred

thousand to nine hundred thousand. The cities all became municipia (§ 336), and their citizens secured the full Roman citizenship with enrollment in the tribes. By most of them the privilege of voting in the Assembly at Rome could rarely be exercised: but the movement was a great advance in the world's history and the most notable reform in the last century of the Republic. *The new consolidated Italy foreshadowed a modern political nation.*

425. Civil War between Marius and Sulla. — The rearrangements connected with the extension of the franchise were the occasion for the brooding civil war between the popular and the senatorial party. The Italian allies who joined Rome in the war had all been placed in eight tribes, thus receiving only a part in a fourth of the voting power of the state. Now that more were to be enrolled, the popular party proposed to remedy this injustice and to distribute the Italians among all the thirty-five tribes.

The tribune *Sulpicius*, a friend of Drusus, carried the law, but not until Sulla had provoked a riot. Sulla himself barely escaped with his life through the aid of his enemy Marius. Just before this, the senate had appointed Sulla to manage a war against Mithridates, king of Pontus. Now Sulpicius, fearing a military revolution, induced the tribes to give this command to Marius instead. Sulla had fled to his army at Capua; he declared the decree of the tribes illegal, and, though all but one of his officers left him, he marched upon Rome. For the first time a Roman magistrate used a regular army to reduce the capital. The democrats under Marius were scattered after a brief but furious resistance, and Sulla became the first military master of the city.

For the moment the usurper showed much moderation. He repealed the Sulpician laws, executed a few democratic leaders,[1] set a price upon the head of Marius, tried to buttress the sen-

[1] The head of Sulpicius, with grim irony, was set up on the rostrum in the Forum, whence his lips had so often swayed the Assembly.

ate by hasty laws, and then departed for the East, where Roman dominion was rapidly crumbling.

426. Victory of Cinna and the Marians: the Massacre. — With the departure of Sulla his aristocratic reaction collapsed. The democratic party rallied to undo his legislation. The aristocrats, it is true, surrounded them in the Forum with armed forces, and cut them down ruthlessly to the number of ten thousand, until the streets ran with blood. But their fugitive leader *Cinna* was welcomed by the Italians and the country tribes, and returned to besiege the city. Marius came back from his exile,[1] — a grim, vengeful, repulsive old man, with some thousands of freed slaves for his special bodyguard. Rome was captured; the gates were closed; and for four days and nights the senatorial party were hunted down and butchered indiscriminately by the desperadoes of Marius, despite the indignant pleadings of other democratic leaders, like the generous *Sertorius*. Marius and Cinna proclaimed themselves consuls, without even the form of an election; they then outlawed Sulla, repealed his legislation, and restored the Sulpician law regarding the Italians. In the midst of his orgy of triumph Marius died. Then Sertorius with regular troops stamped out the band of slave assassins, but Cinna remained political master of Rome for four years.

427. Sulla in the East, and the New Civil War. — For thirty years the indolent senate had watched dangers growing in the East. Three barbarian kings had appeared there, — in Pontus, Armenia, and Parthia, — all encroaching ruthlessly upon the protectorates and allies of Rome. Finally *Mithridates*, king of Pontus, overran all Asia Minor (massacring, at the lowest estimate, eighty thousand Italians there in one day), and seized much of Macedonia and Greece. This was the peril that had summoned Sulla from Rome. Outlawed, without supplies, with only a small army, he had restored Roman authority in a series of brilliant campaigns, while Cinna lorded it in Italy, and now

[1] Special report: stories of Marius in exile; see Plutarch's *Life*.

he returned to glut his vengeance and restore his party (83 B.C.). Italy was almost a unit against him, but his veteran army made him victor after a desolating two-years' struggle. Toward the close the Samnites rose, for the last time, under another Pontius, and marched straight upon helpless Rome, "to burn the den of the wolves that have so long harried Italy," and the city was barely saved by Sulla's forced march and desperate victory at the *Colline Gate*.

428. Sulla stamps out the Democrats. — Sulla was virtually king; indeed, at his suggestion, the senate declared him *permanent dictator*.[1] His first work was to crush the democratic party by systematic massacre. Lists of names were posted publicly day by day, and any desperado was invited to slay the proscribed men at $2000 a head. Sulla's friends were given free permission to include private enemies. The wealth of the proscribed was confiscated, and many a man's only offense was the possession of a desired villa. When entreated repeatedly even by the servile senate to let it be known when he would be through with such slaughter, Sulla characteristically replied that he did not recall any more enemies just then, but that those whom he had forgotten would have to be included in some future proscription. Four thousand seven hundred Romans of wealth and position perished, and even worse massacres followed over Italy. At Praeneste alone twelve thousand

A Coin of Sulla, struck in Athens. Athene and her Owl.

[1] The old constitutional office of dictator had become obsolete; the new permanent dictatorship of Sulla, and later of Caesar, is merely a name for a new monarchy.

men were put to death in one day. Sulla thought he had stamped out the embers of the Marian party. Only Sertorius, the noblest Roman of the age, held Spain for the democrats, and the youth Julius Caesar, a nephew of Marius' wife and the husband of Cinna's daughter, was in hiding in the mountains.

429. Restoration of Senatorial Rule. — Sulla next set about reëstablishing the oligarchic state. He enlarged the numbers of the senate to about six hundred, and by law made all officers dependent upon it. The tribuneship (whence had come all the popular movements) was restricted: no tribune could bring any proposal before the tribes, or even address them, without the senate's permission; and the office was made undesirable by the provision that a man who had held it could never afterward hold another political office. The assignment of the Italians to the tribes was contemptuously passed by, but an attempt was made to supersede the *comitia tributa* by the old Servian form of the centuriate assembly.[1]

430. "Sulla the Fortunate": Character and Place in History. — After a three years' absolutism, Sulla abdicated, — to go back to his debaucheries, and to die in peace shortly after as a private citizen. He is a monstrous enigma in history — dauntless, crafty, treacherous, dissolute, licentious, refined, absolutely unfeeling and selfish, and with a mocking cynicism that spiced his conversation and conduct. No other civilized man has ever so organized murder. Few have had so clear a grasp of ends and made such unscrupulous use of means.[2]

Apparently Sulla believed sincerely in senatorial government; but he had striven against his age, and his work hardly outlived his mortal body.

For Further Reading. — Mommsen, bk. iv. chs. vi. vii. ix. x.; Ihne, V. (later chapters); Beesly, *The Gracchi, Marius, and Sulla;* Freeman's *Sulla* (in Historical Essays, 2d series); Plutarch's *Lives.*

[1] On the Sullan Constitution, see Mommsen, IV. 98–139 and 145–150.

[2] See the apologetic view in Mommsen, IV. 138–145.

V. POMPEY AND CAESAR, 78–49 B.C.

431. General View. — The history of the next thirty years — to the rule of Caesar — has two phases: (1) internally it is a question as to what leader should become master; (2) externally it is marked by Pompey's organization of Roman dominion in the East to the Euphrates, and by Caesar's like but more lasting work in the West to the Rhine and the North Sea. Naturally, the rivalry for supreme power narrows down to these two men, and happily victory was to fall to Caesar, incomparably the abler and nobler of the two.

A. Period of Pompey's Leadership, 78–59 B.C.

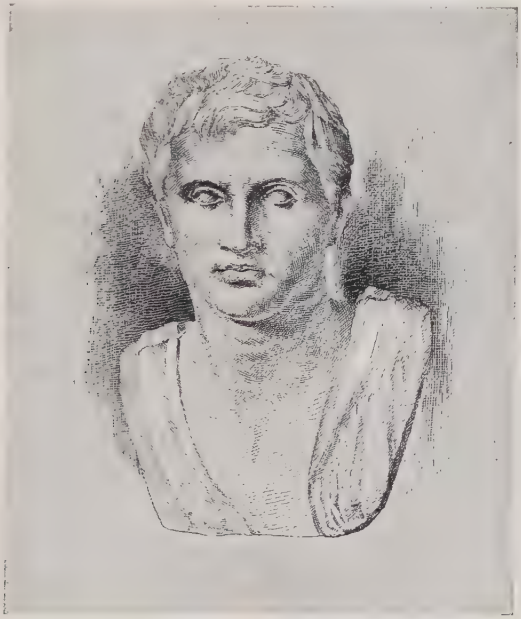
432. Pompey and Crassus. — By the death of Sulla two of his officers were left in special prominence, — Pompey and Crassus. Crassus was not only a soldier, but also a scheming man of business who had built up the greatest fortune in Rome, largely by the purchase of confiscated property during the Sullan proscriptions. "Pompey the Great," with more honesty and good nature, was a man of mediocre ability — vain, sluggish, cautious to timidity, without broad views or magnanimous feelings, and without definite political convictions; but he easily held Crassus in check, and was always a possible king of Rome until the rise of Caesar twenty years later.

433. Pompey's First Chance. — Pompey at once compelled the senate to send him to Spain against Sertorius,[1] with indefinite military power. It was now clearly recognized on all sides that the road to the crown lay through a position as proconsul in a province for a term of years, with an important war that would call for a large and disciplined army.

In 71 B.C. Pompey returned triumphantly, but found Crassus also at the head of a victorious army that had just crushed the rising of Spartacus (§ 406). The senatorial aristocracy feared both leaders, and showed a disposition to slight them; so the two generals were led into an alliance with the democratic agitators. With their armies encamped by the gates, they secured

[1] Special report: Sertorius in Spain. Read Plutarch's interesting *Life of Sertorius.*

their triumphs and their election as consuls, and then, to pay the democrats, they undid the chief work of Sulla by restoring the tribunes and censors. Sovereignty was now within the reach of Pompey; he longed for it, but did not dare stretch out his hand to grasp it;[1] and the politicians skillfully played off



POMPEIUS. — A bust in the Spada Palace in Rome.

the two military chiefs against each other until they agreed to disband their armies simultaneously. The crisis was past. Pompey, who had expected still to be the first man in Rome, found himself of very little account among the senatorial talkers, and, for some years, sulked in retirement.

434. Pompey's Second Chance: Expansion, and the Settlement in the East. — In 67 B.C. military danger called Pompey again

[1] Mommsen, IV. 382–385.

to the front. The Roman naval power had utterly decayed. Accordingly the pirates had set up a formidable state, with headquarters on the rocky coasts of Cilicia; they had paralyzed trade along the great Mediterranean highway, ravaged the coasts of Italy, and even threatened Rome with starvation by cutting off the grain fleets. To put them down, Pompey was given supreme command for three years in all the Mediterranean provinces, with unlimited authority over all the resources of the empire. And when, by what seemed brilliant generalship, he had swept the seas in three months, his command was extended indefinitely against the Pontic king Mithridates, who had recovered himself in the East.[1]

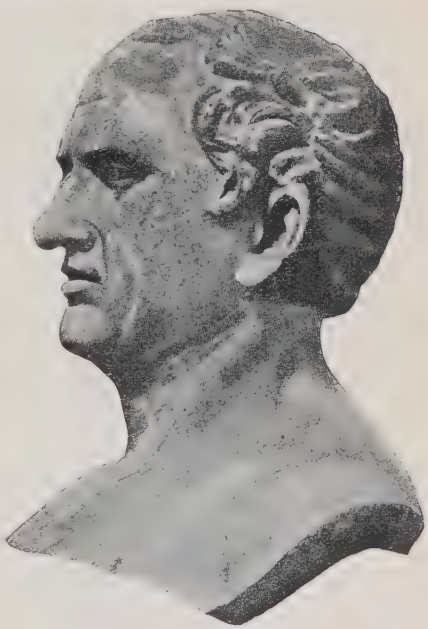
Pompey was absent on this last mission five years — a really glorious period in his career, and one that proved the resources and energies of the commonwealth unexhausted if only a respectable leader were found to direct them, in place of the miserable senatorial system of no-government. He waged successful wars, crushed dangerous rebellions, conquered Pontus and Armenia, annexed many wide provinces, and extended Roman control to the Euphrates.[2] He then organized these provinces, restored order, founded cities, and deposed and set up kings in the dependent states. When he returned to Italy in 62 B.C. he was the leading figure in the world. Again the crown was within his grasp; again he let it slip, expecting it to be thrust upon him; and again he was to rue his indecision.

435. New Leaders in Pompey's Absence. — Meantime, new actors had risen to prominence. Three deserve special mention, because they represented three distinct forces. *Cato the Younger*, great-grandson of Cato the Censor, was a brave, honest, bigoted aristocrat, bent upon preserving the oligarchic Republic. *Cicero*, the greatest orator of Rome, was a refined

[1] Mithridates and his career (including the "Mithridatic Wars") may be made the subject of a special report.

[2] At this time Syria became a Roman province, and the Jews sank from their brief independence into a dependent kingdom (§ 250).

scholar, a representative of the wealthy middle class, and their idol. He desired reform, and at first he inclined toward the democratic party; but, alarmed by their violence and rudeness, he finally joined the conservatives, in the idle hope of restoring the old republican constitution and character.[1]



CICERO. — The Vatican bust.

However, neither of these two men deserve the name of statesman. "Both," says Merivale, fitly, "were blinded to real facts — Cato by his ignorance, Cicero by his learning." The third man was to tower immeasurably above these and all other Romans. *Caius Julius Caesar* was the chief democratic leader, and perhaps the greatest genius of all history. He was of an old patrician family that claimed divine descent through Aeneas and his son Iulus (Julius). His youth had been dissolute, but bold; and he had refused with quiet dignity to put away his wife (the daughter of Cinna) at Sulla's order, though Pompey had not hesitated to obey a like command. In Pompey's absence he had served as quaestor and praetor, and he strove ardently to reorganize the democratic party. In public speeches

[1] Cicero has been bitterly accused of cowardly and shifty politics. Mommsen is very hard upon him. Warde-Fowler's *Caesar* is sympathetic in its treatment. There is an excellent statement in Pelham, 247–252. For fuller study, see Davidson's *Cicero* and Forsyth's *Cicero*.

he ventured to praise Marius and Cinna as champions of the people; and in the year 64, by a daring stroke, he again set up at the Capitol the trophies of Marius, which of course had been torn down in the rule of Sulla. Caesar had tried also to build up some counterpoise to Pompey's power, by securing a province in Egypt; but his hopes had been dashed by a strange accident. In 63 B.C. a reckless anarchistic conspiracy of bankrupt and ruined men, led by the profligate *Catiline*, had been detected and crushed by Cicero, the consul. The movement was not one of the democratic party proper. It belonged to the disreputable extremists who always attach themselves to a liberal party; but the collapse reacted upon the whole popular party, and now Caesar's career seemed closed by Pompey's return.

JULIUS CAESAR. — The British Museum bust.

B. The Rise of Caesar.

436. Formation of the First Triumvirate: Caesar's Consulship. — To the amazement of all parties, Pompey dismissed his

veterans and came to Rome as a private citizen. Then the jealous and stupid senate again drove him into the arms of the democrats: it refused to give his soldiers the allotments he had promised them, and delayed even to ratify his political arrangements in the East. Caesar seized the chance and formed a coalition between Pompey, Crassus, and himself. Caesar furnished the brains and secured the fruits. He became consul; and then, with the mob to back him, calmly setting aside the veto of a tribune of the senatorial party and of the other consul, as well as their antiquated religious prohibitions, he carried Pompey's measures and also demolished the remains of Sulla's constitution.[1]

437. Caesar in Gaul: New Expansion in the West. — At the close of his year's consulship, with Pompey's aid, Caesar as pro-consul received command of the Cisalpine and Transalpine[2] Gallic provinces for five years.

The appointment was one of the happy accidents that influence all history. For the next ten years Caesar abandoned Italy for the supreme work that opened to him beyond the Alps. He found the Province threatened by two great military invasions: the whole people of the Helvetii were migrating from their Alpine homes in search of more fertile lands, and a great German nation, under the king Ariovistus, was already encamped in Gaul. The Gauls themselves had adopted some civilization, but they were distracted by intestine feuds and grievously oppressed by their disorderly chieftains.

Caesar grasped the danger and the opportunity. He hastily levied armies, and in one summer drove back the Helvetii and

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[1] See Mommsen for details. Caesar's consulship is a good subject for a special report.

[2] The possession of Spain had made the possession of southern Gaul needful as a connecting link; but the Romans did not enter the district as conquerors until they were appealed to for protection by the ancient Greek colony Massilia, their "ally." Before 120 B.C., however, the southern part of Gaul had been made a province, commonly known as *The Province* (modern *Provence*).

annihilated the Germans. Then he seized upon the Rhine as the proper Roman frontier, and, in a series of masterly campaigns, he made all Gaul Roman, extending his expeditions even into Britain. The story is told with incomparable lucidity in his own Commentaries.[1] Whatever we think of the morality of the conquests (and their justification rests upon much the same basis as does the American occupation of this continent at the expense of the natives), they were to result in infinite good for mankind.[2] The result was twofold. (*a*) Again the wave of German invasion was checked until Roman civilization should have time to do its work and to prepare the way for the Christian church. "Let the Alps now sink," exclaimed Cicero; "the gods raised them to shelter Italy from the barbarians, but they are no longer needed." (*b*) A wider home for Roman civilization was won among fresh populations, unexhausted and vigorous. The map widened from the Mediterranean circle to include the shores of the North and Baltic seas. The land that Caesar made Roman was, next to Greece, to form down to the present time the chief instructor of Europe; while, but for this work of Caesar, "our civilization itself would have stood in hardly more intimate relation to the Romano-Greek than to Assyrian culture." [3]

438. The Rupture between Caesar and Pompey. — The close of the first five years saw Caesar easily superior to his colleagues, and able to seize power at Rome if he chose. But it was never his way to leave the work in hand unfinished; and he renewed the alliance in 55 B.C., securing the Gauls for five years more for himself, giving Spain to Pompey and Asia to Crassus. Crassus soon perished in battle with the Parthians [4]

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[1] Special reports: Caesar in Britain; revolt of Vercingetorix; the Druids.

[2] Says John Fiske, "We ought to be thankful to Caesar every day that we live." Read Fiske's *American Political Ideas*, 108–113, and Roosevelt's *Winning of the West*, III. 45–46 and 174–176, for their justification of wars with savages as "the most ultimately righteous of all wars."

[3] Read Mommsen, V. 100–102, for an admirable statement.

[4] Special report: Crassus' campaign.

(a new, huge, barbaric empire reaching from the Euphrates to the Indus); and it became more and more apparent that the question could not be postponed long as to whether Caesar or Pompey was to rule at Rome. Pompey, in his jealousy of his more brilliant rival, drew nearer to the senate again, and was finally adopted by that terrified body as their champion. He was made sole consul, and at the same time his military commands abroad were continued to him. The aristocrats planned to destroy Caesar when his term of office should expire; and by a complex series of acts, marked by vacillating bad faith, they even tried to deprive him of his army before the settled time, and so forced on the civil war.

For Further Reading on Division V. — Mommsen, bk. v. chs. vii.–ix.; Merivale's *Triumvirates;* Pelham; Warde-Fowler's *Caesar;* Davidson's *Cicero;* Froude's *Caesar;* Plutarch's *Lives* (*Caesar*, *Lucullus*, *Crassus*).

REVIEW EXERCISES ON PART IV.

1. Review by the syllabus in the table of contents.
2. Review questions prepared by class (as on page 75).
3. Fact drills.
   a. Dates. The class, of course, continue drill on the list on page 246. Fill out the following table, and group other dates around these. Use the table of dates in the Appendix for review; note especially the relative rates of development of Greece and Rome in the several periods or centuries.

510 ?	B.C.	"Expulsion" of the kings.
390	"	Sack of Rome by the Gauls.
367	"	—— —— ——
266	"	—— —— ——
218	"	(Cf. 220 B.C. — Greek History.)
146	"	—— —— ——
49	"	—— —— ——

   b. List of Rome's wars after 390 B.C.
   c. List of ten important battles (see page 246).
   d. List of names and terms for explanation; as, *curule office*, *Valerian law*, "*Twelve Tables*," *the consul Nero*, *Cornelia*, etc.

PART V.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE (THE GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD).

Rome was the whole world, and all the world was Rome.
— Spenser, *Ruins of Rome.*

Even now a sovereign who should thus hold all the lands round the Mediterranean Sea, and whose borders should be the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates, would be incomparably the strongest ruler in the world; yet now America and Australia are in the scale altering the balance of power, the great Slavonic Empire of the North rules over territories practically unknown to the Roman, and China and Japan have come forth from the seclusion of centuries. As has been often pointed out, when Rome ruled she was not only the greatest, but practically the only Power of which the statesman and the philosopher took any cognisance.
— Hodgkin, in *Contemporary Review*, January, 1898, p. 53.

Republican Rome had little to do either by precept or example with modern life; imperial Rome, everything. — Stillé, *Studies*, 17.

CHAPTER I.

FOUNDING THE EMPIRE: JULIUS AND OCTAVIUS, 49 B.C.–14 A.D.

I. THE FIVE YEARS OF JULIUS CAESAR.

A. The Moral Question.

439. Monarchy at Rome Inevitable. — Three conditions of the past century made monarchy now imperative: (*a*) the corruption of the populace in the capital; (*b*) the military danger on the frontiers; and (*c*) the maladministration of the provinces. As a result of the first, *in Rome itself*, the tremendous power of

the tribunes had grown into occasional dictatorships (*i.e.* Gracchus and Sulpicius). From the second, it had come to pass *abroad* that special commissions in times of peril extended the mighty authority of a one-year proconsul of a single province into unlimited sovereignty over vaster areas for indefinite time (*i.e.* Marius, Sulla, Pompey, Caesar). To make a monarch needed but to unite these two new powers in one person.

440. Monarchy Right: Caesar the Hope of the Subject Nations. — Thus the first two conditions of themselves made a monarchy inevitable; the third condition made it right. There might have arisen a purely selfish despot. It is Caesar's peculiar honor that he, more than any other statesman of the time, felt the third need, and that he rose to power as the representative of the suffering subject-populations. He had undoubtedly come to see that in any case the only government for that age was one-man rule; the existing commonwealth he called "a body without a soul." But his special aim was to mold the distracted Roman world into a mighty empire *under equal laws.* His monarchic faith was not a renunciation of the old democracy, so much as a broadening of it. From the champion of the city mob against an aristocratic ring, he had become the champion of wide nationalities against the same narrow circle *and* the mob of a single city. Already, as proconsul, he had admitted the Cisalpine Gauls to all the privileges of citizenship, on his own authority. In the midst of arduous campaigns, he had kept up correspondence with leading provincials in all parts of the empire. He had expended vast sums, too, in adorning and improving provincial cities, not only in his own districts of Gaul and Spain, but also in Asia and Greece. His army itself was drawn from Cisalpine Gaul, and indeed partly from Gaul beyond the Alps. The subject nationalities were learning to look to him as their best hope against senatorial rapacity; and the great body of them wished for monarchy as the only legitimate government and the only escape from anarchy. It was no longer possible to regard only the inhabit-

ants of the degenerate capital. It was right, as well as needful, for statesmen to consult the interests and views of the vaster populations of the provinces. Caesar aimed to make himself the interpreter and guide of that new imperial will, as opposed to the will of the petty, selfish clique that demanded to sway the world in its own paltry interests.

"Whatever we think of his personal morality, we must acknowledge that it was well a man of genius should arise at such a crisis to direct the general sentiment and to show how it could be realized." [1]

— MERIVALE, *Triumvirates*, 72.

441. The Question Relative, not Absolute. — Of course, to call Caesar right in his day, is not to call "Caesarism" right in all times and places. The study of history should teach that all such questions are relative. No institution can be judged apart from the surrounding conditions. A "Caesar" in Rome in 200 B.C. would have been a criminal; the real Caesar in 50 B.C. was a benefactor.

Moreover, to say that imperial government was the happiest solution then possible is not to call it an unmixed good. No perfectly happy outcome was possible to that Roman world, indisposed to representative institutions and based on slavery and militarism. But a despotism can get along on less political virtue and intelligence than a free government can. The evils that were finally to overthrow the Empire five centuries later had all appeared in the last century of the Republic — in forms deadly to the Roman world under that system. The change to the imperial system restored material well-being and staved off the final collapse for a time as long as separates us from Luther or Columbus. The interval was precious; for in it, under Roman protection, priceless work was to be done for humanity. But finally the medicine of despotism exhausted its good effect; its own poison was added to the

[1] J. R. Seeley denies the uplifting of the provincials as an aim of Caesar, admitting it only as a result. See his *Roman Imperialism* for that view.

older evils; and the collapse, threatened in the first century B.C., came in the fifth century A.D.

B. The Civil War.

442. Caesar crosses the Rubicon: Campaign in Italy. — Caesar had finished his work in Gaul in the nick of time, and was free to meet his enemies at Rome and to take up his greater designs. He still shrank from civil war. He hoped to secure the consulship, and he seems to have trusted, in that event, to his ability as a statesman to accomplish his ends without violence. Accordingly, he made offer after offer of conciliation, finally conceding all that his opponents had claimed; but he was rebuffed by Pompey and the senate, and his friends were driven from Rome.

Caesar's decision was finally taken. He had only one legion in Cisalpine Gaul; but, in January, 49 B.C., he led it into Italy. This was an act of war, and the story goes that as he crossed the Rubicon — the little stream between his province and Italy — he exclaimed, "The die is cast!" He never again looked back. With audacious and characteristic rapidity he moved directly upon the much larger forces that ponderous Pompey was mustering at leisure; and in sixty days, almost without bloodshed, he was master of the peninsula.

443. Campaigns in Spain and Greece. — Pompey was still in control of most of the empire, but Caesar had the prestige of the capital and the advantage of Italy's central position. Turning to Spain, in three months he had dispersed the veteran armies of Pompey's lieutenants there; and then, following Pompey himself to Greece, in the critical campaign of 48 B.C. he became master of the world.

The decisive battle was fought at *Pharsalus* in Thessaly. Caesar's little army, living for weeks on roots and bark of trees, numbered less than half Pompey's well-appointed troops. Pompey held his choice of positions, and he had never been beaten in the field. It looked for a time as though Caesar had

rashly invited ruin. But one commander, despite his successful career, was "formed for a corporal and forced to be a general"; while the other, though caring not at all for military glory, was one of the two or three greatest captains of all time.

Almost as much the armies differed in real fighting power. For the vital forces of the contending camps, and their meaning, Warde-Fowler's summary is masterly (*Caesar*, 299) : —

"On one side the disunion, selfishness, and pride of the last survivors of an ancient oligarchy, speculating before the event on the wealth or office that victory was to bring them ; on the other, the absolute command of a single man, whose clear mental vision was entirely occupied with the facts and issues that lay before him that day. The one host was composed in great part of a motley crowd from Greece and the East, representing that spurious Hellenic civilization that for a century had sapped the vigor of Roman life ; the other was chiefly drawn from the Gallic populations of Italy and the West, fresh, vigorous, intelligent, and united in devotion and loyalty to a leader whom not even defeat could dishearten. With Pompeius was the spirit of the past, and his failure did but answer to the failure of a decaying world ; with Caesar was the spirit of the future, and his victory marks the moment when humanity could once more start hopefully upon a new line of progress."

444. The Four remaining Campaigns. — Other wars hindered the great work of reorganization. Egypt and Asia Minor each required a campaign ;[1] and in Egypt, too, under the seductive wiles of the voluptuous queen, Cleopatra, Caesar seems to have wasted a few months. If so, he partly atoned by his swift prosecution of the war in Asia against Pharnaces, son of Mithridates. It was this campaign that Caesar reported pithily to the senate in the historic phrase, "I came, I saw, I conquered." Meantime, Cato and the senatorial party had raised troops in Africa and called in the humiliating aid of the Numidian king. Caesar crushed them at Thapsus.[2] Somewhat later,

[1] Special report: siege of Caesar in Alexandria.

[2] Cato, stern republican that he was, committed suicide at Utica, unwilling to survive the commonwealth. His death was admired by the ancient world, and cast an undeserved halo about the expiring Republican cause. More than anything else, it has led later writers to treat Caesar as the ambi-

Pompey's sons and the last remnants of their party were overthrown in Spain at Munda.

C. Constructive Work.[1]

445. Clemency and Reconciliation. — The first effort of the new ruler went to reconcile Italy. All respectable classes there had trembled when he crossed the Rubicon, expecting new Marian massacres or at least a new Catalinian war upon property. But Caesar maintained strict order, guarded property rights carefully, and punished no political opponent who laid down arms. Only one of his soldiers had refused to follow him when he decided upon civil war. Caesar sent all this officer's property after him to Pompey's camp; and he continued that policy toward the nobles who left Italy to join Pompey at the close of the first campaign, even when their actions, in some cases, savored of treachery. On the field of victory, too, he checked the vengeance of his soldiers, calling upon them to remember that the enemy were their fellow-citizens; and after Pharsalus he employed in the public service any Roman of ability, without regard to the side he had fought on. In Gaul, Caesar's warfare had been largely of the cruel kind so common in Roman annals, but his clemency in the civil war was without example. It brought its proper fruit, however; and almost at once all classes, except a few extremists, became heartily reconciled to his government.

446. The Form of the New Monarchy. — The old republican *forms* continued for the most part. Except for some brief intervals, the senate deliberated, and consuls and praetors were elected, as before. But Caesar drew the more important powers into his own hands. He received the *tribunician power for life*, and likewise the authority of a *life censor*. He was already

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tious destroyer of his country's liberty. Read the story in Plutarch's *Life of Cato*.

[1] Warde-Fowler, 326–359; How and Leigh, 539–551; Merivale, *Triumvirates*, 135, 139, 157–170; Mommsen, bk. v. ch. xi.

head of the state-religion as *Pontifex Maximus*. Now he accepted also a *dictatorship for life* and the title of *Imperator* for himself *and his descendants*. Probably (like Cromwell in England later) he would have liked the title of king, since the recognized authority, and forms that went with it, would have helped to maintain order; but when he found that term still hateful to the unthinking populace, he seems to have designed this hereditary Imperatorship, with its ancient significance of the supreme *imperium*, for the title of the new monarchy. Had he succeeded in setting up a strictly hereditary government, the world would have been spared many of the worst evils of the next four centuries.

447. General Measures of Reform. — The measures of reform embraced Rome, Italy, and the empire. A bankrupt law on the general lines followed by modern legislation released all debtors from further personal obligation, if they surrendered their entire estates to their creditors, — and so the demoralized society was given a chance at a fresh start. A commission to reclaim and allot public lands was put to work. Landlords were required to employ at least one free laborer for every two slaves. Italian colonization in the provinces was pressed vigorously, to the mutual advantage of Italy and of the outside empire. In his early consulship (59 B.C.), Caesar had refounded Capua; now he did the like for Carthage and Corinth, and these noble capitals that had been criminally destroyed by the narrow jealousy of republican Rome, rose again to wealth and power. Eighty thousand landless citizens of Rome were provided for beyond seas; and by these and other means the helpless proletariat in the capital, dependent upon free grain, was reduced from three hundred and twenty thousand to one hundred and fifty thousand. Beyond doubt, with longer life, Caesar would have lessened the evil further. Rigid economy was introduced into all branches of the government. Taxation was equalized, reduced, and made more productive. A comprehensive census was taken for all Italy, and measures were

under way to extend it over the empire, as was done later by Augustus. Caesar also reformed the calendar[1] and the coinage; began the codification of the irregular mass of Roman law; created the first *public* library (belonging to the public, as well as designed for its use); built a new Forum; drained the Pomptine marshes; and began other vast public works in all parts of the empire.

448. The Provinces. — The system of provincial administration was made over. The old governors had been ignorant and irresponsible tyrants, with every temptation to plunder their charge. Under Caesar they became the trained servants of a stern master who looked to the welfare of the whole empire. Their authority, too, was lessened, and they were surrounded by a system of indirect checks in the presence of other officials dependent directly upon the Imperator. The governors soon came to be paid fixed salaries, and were not allowed even to accept presents from the provincials.

But more important than such repeal of abuses was Caesar's positive programme to put the provinces upon an equality with Italy. "*As provinces they were to disappear, to prepare for the renovated Romano-Greek nation a new and more spacious home, of whose several parts no one existed merely for the others, but all for each and each for all.*"[2] All Cisalpine Gaul was incorporated in Italy, and Roman citizenship was enormously multiplied by the addition of whole communities in Farther Gaul, in Spain, and elsewhere. Leading Gauls, too, despite Italian prejudice, were admitted to the reformed senate, which Caesar hoped to raise to a Grand Council really representative of the needs and feelings of the empire.

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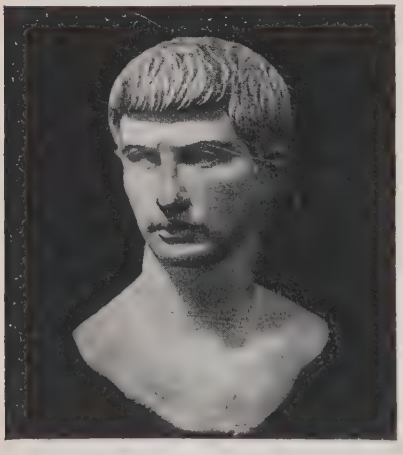
[1] The Roman calendar, inferior to the Egyptian, had got three months out of the way, so that the spring equinox came in June. Caesar made the year 46 ("the last year of confusion") consist of four hundred and forty-five days, to correct the error, and for the future, instituted the system of leap years, as we have it, except for the slight correction of Pope Gregory in the sixteenth century. The reform was based upon the Egyptian system (§ 26).

[2] Read Mommsen, V. 415–417, also 427, 428.

449. The Unforeseen Interruption. — In a few months Caesar had won the favor of the Roman populace, the general sympathy of the respectable classes in Italy, and the enthusiastic reverence of the provinces. He was still in the prime of a strong and active manhood, and had every reason to hope for time to complete his work. No public enemy could be raised against him within the empire. One danger there was: lurking assassins beset his path; but with characteristic dignity he quietly refused a body-guard, declaring it better to die at any time than to live always in fear of death. And so, in the midst of preparation for expeditions against the Parthians and Germans to rectify the frontiers, the murderous daggers of men whom he had spared and heaped with favors, struck him down. A group of irreconcilable nobles, led by the weak enthusiast *Brutus* and the envious *Cassius*, plotted to take his life.



MARCUS BRUTUS. — A bust now in the Capitoline Museum.

They accomplished their crime in the senate house, on the Ides of March (March 15), 44 B.C. Crowding around him, and fawning upon him as to ask a favor, the assassins suddenly drew their daggers. According to an old story, Caesar at first stood on his defense, calling for help, and wounded Cassius; but when he saw the loved and trusted Brutus in the snarling pack, he cried out sadly, "What! thou, too, Brutus!" and drawing his toga about him with calm dignity, he resisted no longer, but sank at the foot of Pompey's statue, bleeding from three and twenty stabs.

450. Caesar's Character. — Caesar has been called the one original genius in Roman history. His gracious courtesy and unrivaled charm won all hearts, so that it is said his enemies dreaded personal interviews, lest they be drawn to his side. Toward his friends he never wearied in forbearance and love. In the civil war young Curio, a dashing but reckless lieutenant, lost two legions and undid much good work — to Caesar's great peril. Curio refused to survive his blunder, and found death on the field; but Caesar, with no word of reproachful criticism, refers to the disaster only to excuse it kindly by reference to Curio's youth and to "his faith in his good fortune from his former success."

In work, no man ever excelled Caesar in quick perception of means, fertility of resource, dash in execution, or tireless activity. His opponent Cicero said of him: "He had genius, understanding, memory, taste, reflection, industry, exactness." Numerous anecdotes are told of the many activities he could carry on at one time, and of his dictating six or more letters to as many scribes at once. Says a modern critic, "He was great as a captain, statesman, lawgiver, jurist, orator, poet, historian, grammarian, mathematician, architect."

No doubt "Caesar was ambitious." He was not a philanthropic enthusiast merely, but a broad-minded, intellectual genius, with a strong man's delight in ruling well. He saw clearly what was to do, and knew perfectly his own supreme ability to do it. Caesar and Alexander are the two great captains whose conquests have done most for civilization. But Caesar, master in war as he was, always preferred statesmanship, and was perfectly free from Alexander's boyish liking for mere fighting. Beside the Greek, the Roman had less of poetic idealism and more of practical sagacity. And yet the two had much in common, and both tower, mighty giants, above vulgar conquerors, like a Napoleon, moved by lower ambitions.

The seven campaigns in the five years after he crossed the Rubicon left Caesar less than eighteen months for his great

plans of reorganization. Even this short time was in broken intervals between wars, and the whole routine of ordinary government had to be taken care of also. Of course the new work remained incomplete, and it is not always possible to tell just what Caesar planned to do; but that which was actually accomplished dazzles the imagination. His genius, too, marked out the lines along which, on the whole, his successors, however less grandly, had to move. His murder was as imbecile as it was wicked. It struck the wise monarch, but not the monarchy, and only left Caesar's work to be completed by smaller men, after a new period of anarchy. We can do no better, in leaving "the foremost man of all this world," than to use the words of Mommsen: "Thus he worked and created as never any mortal before or after him; and as a worker and creator he still, after two thousand years, lives in the memory of the nations — the first and the unique Imperator Caesar!"[1]

For Further Reading. — White's *Appian*, for the period; Mommsen, bk. v. chs. x.–xi; Warde-Fowler's *Caesar* (Heroes); Davidson's *Cicero* (Heroes); Trollope's *Cicero;* Froude's *Caesar;* Pelham; Merivale's *Triumvirates;* Plutarch's *Lives* (*Caesar*, *Pompeius*, *Crassus*, *Cicero*, *Brutus*).

II. FROM JULIUS TO OCTAVIUS, 44–31 B.C.

451. Antonius and Octavius. — Caesar's assassination led to fifteen years more of dreary and needless civil war. The murderers had hoped to be greeted as liberators; but to their dismay all classes shrank from them, and they fled. In Italy control soon fell to two new men, Antonius and Octavius. *Antonius*, an old officer of Caesar, was a dissolute, resolute, daring soldier. *Octavius* was a grand-nephew and adopted son of Caesar; he was an unknown, sickly youth of nineteen, but he soon proved himself the strongest statesman of the empire.

[1] Read the rest of Mommsen's fine summary, V. 441–442, and, for Caesar's character, the famous passage, pp. 305–314. See also a fine passage on the necessity of the Empire, and on Caesar's work, in Hodgkin's *Fall of the Roman Empire*, in the *Contemporary Review* for January, 1898, pp. 53–58.

452. Formation of the Second Triumvirate. — At first the two leaders seemed about to come to blows, but by the shrewd policy of Octavius they united their forces, and, to secure the West thoroughly, they added to their league Lepidus, governor of Gaul and Spain. The three then got themselves appointed *triumvirs* by the senate: they were given unlimited power for five years to reorganize the state; and their dictatorship they afterward extended at will.[1]

453. The Proscription.— The union was cemented with blood. The first deed of the triumvirs was to get rid of their personal foes in Italy by a horrible proscription, each marking off on the fatal list those whose deaths he demanded, and each surrendering an uncle, a brother, or a trusting friend, to the other's hate. It was at this time that Cicero perished.

Octavius Caesar (Augustus) as a Boy. A bust now in the Vatican.

454. Final Overthrow of the Oligarchs; Philippi. — Meantime Brutus and Cassius had been rallying the old Pompeian forces in the East. Their army contained troops from Parthia, Armenia, Media, Pontus, and Thrace. Again the East and West met in conflict, and again the West won — at Philippi in Macedonia (42 B.C.). This was the last time the "Republicans" appeared in arms.

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[1] Note that the term triumvirate is official in this use, while the so-called *first* triumvirate was an unofficial league, or ring, of public men.

455. Dissensions of the Triumvirs; Actium. — Then Lepidus was set aside, and Antonius and Octavius divided the Roman world. Soon each was to plot for the other's share. The East had fallen to Antonius. Immediately afterward he became infatuated with the licentious Cleopatra, in Egypt, until he lost care even for his military fame, and sank into sensual indolence broken only by fitful gleams of his old energy. Octavius was preparing to take advantage of this condition, when a pretext was made ready to his hand. Antonius bestowed rich provinces upon Cleopatra, and, it was rumored, planned to supplant Rome by Alexandria as chief capital. The Roman senate declared war, and in 31 B.C. the naval battle of Actium was fought off the west coast of Greece. It was the third of the decisive battles in the establishment of the empire; and like Pharsalus and Philippi, it also was a victory for the West over the East.

III. OCTAVIUS AUGUSTUS, 31 B.C.–14 A.D.

456. Final Establishment of the Empire. — Actium made Octavius sole master of the Roman world. He proceeded to the East to restore order and to annex Egypt. On his return to Rome in 29 B.C., the gates of the Temple of Janus were closed, in token of the reign of peace.[1] Prudent and generous measures soon brought back order and prosperity to distracted and bankrupt Italy also, and in 27 B.C. the senate conferred upon Octavius the new title of *Augustus*, formerly used only for the gods. Many writers date the beginning of the formal Empire from this event.

In his earlier career, Octavius had proven himself able, adroit, unscrupulous, utterly cold-blooded. He had shrunk from no helpful cruelty and had been moved from his policy by no passion. But absolute power, which so often drives smaller intellects to frenzied wickedness, seems to have

[1] These gates were always open in war. They had been closed only once before in historical times, and once in legend by King Numa.

warmed this cold, unlovely schemer into something akin to true greatness.[1] After the final victory he declared a general amnesty and took up the work of the great Julius in something

Augustus. — Vatican Museum.

of his spirit, though with a more cautious and conservative temper. The remaining forty years of his life Augustus gave to unremitting toil in reorganizing politics and society, laying

[1] Read Capes' *Early Empire*, 6–9.

the foundations of the Empire so securely that even his death did not shake them. The details of his organization, as well as the glorious literature and architecture that have made the Augustan Age splendid in human annals, will be treated in the next chapter.

For Further Reading. — For Division I., see close of that division. Division II. does not demand extensive reading. The student with leisure will find good accounts in Merivale's *Triumvirates*, Pelham, and the opening of Capes' *Early Empire* (Epochs). At this stage we take leave of the authors who have so far been our chief guides. The reading for Division III. can best be done in connection with the next chapter (see bibliography at its close).

Special Report. — Octavius' reorganization in Italy in the years 29–27 B.C., with special reference to financial measures.

Exercise. — 1. *Battles.* Add to previous lists the following: Pharsalia, Thapsus, Munda, Philippi, Actium.

2. Catchword review of the period 44 B.C.–27 A.D.

3. Review the theme quotations at the heads of chapters through the volume, and consider their bearing upon their respective periods.

CHAPTER II.

THE EMPIRE OF THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES — AUGUSTUS TO DIOCLETIAN.

I. TABLE OF EMPERORS.

457. Character of the Treatment of this Period. — With the age of Augustus the history of the Empire ceases to be centered in the city of Rome. Nor is it centered even in the emperors. Many interests depend, of course, upon the individual ruler, but the greater movements go on in much the same way, no matter who sits upon the throne. Our study will not concern itself with the gossip of the court or the intrigues of the palace, nor can we profitably follow the reigns in detail. Our interest for the next three centuries lies not so much in a *narrative* of any kind as in a *topical* survey of the institutions of the Empire, upon which, in large measure, modern society rests.

The following list of reigns is for reference in connection with Divisions II., III., IV., and V. It may be used also, with the books open, for various instructive questions and comparisons. In review, prominent facts and names may be memorized.

A. Two Centuries of Order.

458. The Julian Caesars.

1. **Augustus**, 31 B.C.–14 A.D.: fixed the constitution; despotism under republican name (§ 462 ff.); fixed the frontier (Teutoberg, § 472); census of the empire; "golden age" of literature; "found Rome brick and left it marble"; *birth of Christ*, 4 B.C. (§ 631, note).
2. **Tiberius**, 14–37 A.D.: taciturn, suspicious, degenerating at Rome into a gloomy tyrant, but proverbial among the provincials for scrupulous fairness and good government; *crucifixion of Christ.*
3. Caligula, 37–41 A.D.: a capricious madman with gleams of ferocious humor — "Would that the Romans had all one neck!" Assassinated by his guard.

4. Claudius, 41–54 A.D.: timid pedant controlled by vicious favorites; citizenship rapidly extended; *conquest of southern Britain.** [1]
5. **Nero**, 54–68 A.D.: tiger-like depravity; able ministers (Seneca*); half of Rome consumed in a six days' fire — persecution of the Christians in the city on charge of incendiarism.

69 **A.D.**: a year of anarchy and civil war between emperors (Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian) proclaimed by rival legions.

459. The Flavian and Antonine Caesars.

a. The Flavians.

1. **Vespasian** (*Flavius* Vespasianus), 70–79 A.D.: proclaimed by the legions in Syria; *grandson of a Sabine laborer;* a rude soldier, who had been prominent in war in Britain and Judea; economy and homely tastes; thrifty government; *destruction of Jerusalem by his son Titus.**
2. **Titus**, 79–81 A.D.: associated in the government by his father; his exclamation — not being able one night to recall that he had made any one happy — "I have lost a day!" *Destruction of Pompeii* by the eruption of Vesuvius.* (Read Bulwer's novel, *Last Days of Pompeii.*)
3. Domitian, 81–96 A.D.: brother of Titus; became tyrannical, and was assassinated; Agricola completed conquest of Britain*; *Persecution of the Christians.*

b. The Antonines.

1. Nerva, 96–98 A.D.: an aged senator *of Spanish descent;* elected by the senate, and accepted by the soldiers.
2. **Trajan**, 98–117 A.D.: Spaniard, adopted by Nerva; *extension of frontiers to their greatest limits* (map, and § 474); era of roads and building; charitable endowment by the state for poor children* (Capes' *Antonines*, 19–21); local and slight persecution of Christians.
3. **Hadrian**, 117–138 A.D.: Spanish relative, adopted by Trajan; extended citizenship; gave Privy Council a fixed form (§ 463); wall in Britain against the northern Picts.
4. **Antoninus Pius**, 138–161 A.D.: adopted by Hadrian; peaceful, uneventful rule ("Happy is the people whose annals are meager!"); his characteristic watchward to the officer of the guard as he was about to die — *Equanimity.*

His son wrote of him: "He was ever prudent and temperate. . . . He looked to his duty only, and not to the opinion of men . . . nothing harsh, nothing excessive, nothing rude, nothing overdone."

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[1] Special reports may be assigned on the seven topics starred in §§ 458–461.

5. **Marcus Aurelius Antoninus**, 161–180 A.D.: nephew and adopted son of Pius: a softened and noble stoic philosopher; *the great Asiatic plague* (§ 513); *renewal of barbarian attacks* (§ 511); *persecution of Christians;* his *Thoughts* (§ 503) — one of the noblest books of the world.

"To come to the aid of the weak, to mitigate the lot of slaves, to facilitate manumission, to protect wards, were the objects of Marcus as of his predecessor." — BURY.

The five preceding rulers are known as the *Good Emperors*. Says Merivale, "The blameless career of these illustrious princes has furnished the best excuse for Caesarism in all after ages."

6. Commodus, 180–193 A.D.: son of Aurelius; an infamous tyrant, murdered by his officers.

460. General Character of the Government. — Thus this first long period of two hundred and twenty-four years is an age of settled government and regular succession, except for the disorders of the one terrible year 69 A.D., at the close of Nero's reign. That brief anarchy subdivides the period into nearly equal parts. The Julian emperors (*Romans* and related to the great Julius) covered just a century. After the three Flavians (*Italians*) came the six Antonines, who also covered nearly a hundred years. They were *provincials*. The election of Galba by the Spanish legion in 69 A.D., as Tacitus says, "had revealed the secret that emperors could be made elsewhere than in Rome." The majority of the fourteen rulers were good men; nearly all were capable rulers; the few tyrants had short reigns after their evil qualities began to show.

B. A Century of Disputed Succession between Military Adventurers.

461. The "Barrack Emperors," 193–284 A.D. (See § 512.)

193: Pertinax, Julianus.

Septimius Severus, 193–211: African soldier; *persecutions of the Christians.*

Caracalla, 211–217: tyrant; *made all free inhabitants of the empire Roman citizens;* the age of the great jurists — **Ulpian**, etc.

Macrinus, 217–218. Elagabalus, 218–222. **Alexander Severus**, 222–235: a prosperous period under a gentle and able sovereign. Maximus, 235–238. Gordianus I. and II., Pupienus, Balbinus, 238. Gordianus III., 238–244. Philippus, 244-249.

Decius, 249–251: died in battle against the invading Goths, who are then bought off; *general persecution of Christians.*

251–270: Gallus, Aemilianus, Valerian, Gallienus, Claudius II. The eight years of Gallienus (260–268) are the "Age of the Thirty Tyrants," when numerous claimants exercised regal power in sections of the empire.

Aurelian, 270–275: Illyrian peasant — victorious general; persecution of Christians; *new city wall to defend Rome;* restored the frontier (abandoning Dacia); conquered Zenobia, queen of Palmyra* (Ware's novel, *Zenobia*).

275–284: Tacitus, Florianus, Probus, Carus, Carinus, Numerianus.

II. THE CONSTITUTION — TO DIOCLETIAN, 284 A.D.

A. Central Government.[1]

462. Republican Forms preserved. — In 27 B.C. Octavius resigned his dictatorship, as has been said, and declared the *Republic restored.* Augustus himself (*Monumentum,* xxxiv.) writes: "After that time I excelled all others in dignity, but of power I held no more than those who were my colleagues in any magistracy." The senate of course at once gave back to him his more important powers in different ways, but the forms of the old constitution were respected as scrupulously as facts would permit. Succeeding emperors followed this policy for three centuries. Augustus carried the same principle into his private life. He refused all the pomp of monarchy, lived more simply than many a noble, and walked the streets like any citizen, charming all by his frank courtesy.[2]

The senate continued to exercise much real power. It was no longer a close oligarchy. It became a chosen body of distinguished men selected by the emperor from the whole em-

[1] A comprehensive treatment is given in Bury's *Student's Roman Empire,* 12–38, 165–166, 509–515. Excellent discussions also in Pelham, 399–412, 416–417, 425–430, 446–448, and in Capes' *Early Empire,* 11–19, 181–184, and *Antonines,* 203–209; see Gibbon, ch. iii., for the Age of the Antonines.

[2] Many of the best of Augustus' successors imitated him in this also: but Tiberius gave a new meaning to the law of *Majestas,* so that thereafter to slight the emperor by word or deed might be regarded as treason against the state. This is the origin of the law of treason in Europe later.

pire, and it gave powerful expression to the feeling of the best classes of the widespread realm. The better emperors treated it with great respect and encouraged it to coöperate in government. Some writers, accordingly, call the government during these three centuries a *Dyarchy* (*joint-rule* of emperor and senate). The distinction seems needlessly fanciful, however. The emperor was a monarch whenever he chose to assert his sovereignty.

The Assembly ceased to pass laws, but for some time it still went through the form of elections. Augustus did not hesitate to canvass personally for its vote for himself and his nominees. Later rulers often nominated only one man for each office, leaving not even the appearance of a choice. Some elections were then transferred to the senate, and about the end of the century the Assembly faded away.

463. The Emperor's Power. — But even under Augustus, the consuls and other elected officers tended more and more to become merely municipal in function. Alongside the old forms there grew up an imperial machinery, centralized in one man and constituting the real agency of government. This machinery was partly old in origin and partly new. As with Caesar, so now, a number of the more important offices were concentrated in the person of Octavius. He held the tribunician and proconsular power throughout all the provinces for life, — and so was leader of the city and master of the legions. He became Pontifex Maximus. As censor he could appoint or degrade senators; and as tribune, or with the new title of Princeps, he could lead the debates of the senate and so control the *senatus consulta*, which became one chief means of lawmaking. The remaining legislation emanated from him, — directly, in *edicts* (as from the old republican magistrates sometimes), or in *rescripts* (directions to his officials), or, indirectly, through the great jurists he appointed, whose interpretations of doubtful cases came to be a source of law. He appointed the governors of the provinces and the generals of the legions,

the new city prefect (judge), and the new praetorian prefect (commander of the *praetorians*, the select body of troops in Rome), and he called together at will his chief officers and trusted friends as a Privy Council to advise and assist in carrying on the administration.[1]

Octavius also retained the title of Imperator; and this term, with the title Augustus and the name Caesar, became attached to the office of supreme ruler, so that each successor was known as an Imperator Caesar Augustus.[2] The name and many forms of the Republic survived, but they served only to cloak thinly an unqualified despotism, for which a new name was to grow from the ruler's title and power (*imperator*, *imperium*).

464. The Establishment of the Empire a Gradual Process.— The Empire is dated sometimes from the year 27 B.C. (when Octavius received the title of Augustus), sometimes from 31 B.C. (Actium), sometimes from 49 B.C. (when Julius crossed the Rubicon). The fact is, that its establishment was a gradual process, the essence of which was, *that a single citizen by special commissions united in himself powers that were originally intended to check one another.*

The process was not complete, even in the life of Augustus, for the practical master was not yet the acknowledged monarch; but a great step was taken when on Augustus' death all the world quietly recognized that he must have a successor with like powers, though no law called for one. Augustus, to be sure, had associated his stepson Tiberius in the government, and so had pointed him out for the succession. Augustus had held his powers for terms of years periodically renewed. The senate now conferred them upon Tiberius, without any reference to time. Tiberius indeed did intimate at his election that he should lay down his power as soon as the state no

[1] At first this body was irregular and its work intermittent; Hadrian (§ 459 *b* 3) made it a regular part of the government, with fixed form and functions.

[2] The survival of the name Caesar as an imperial title in Kaiser and Tsar will be readily recognized.

longer needed him; but no one took him seriously; and it soon became invariable practice to confer at the beginning of each reign all the imperial powers upon the new ruler *for life*.

Equally significant was the fact that at Augustus' death the senate decreed him divine honors. This was the beginning of the authorized worship of dead emperors, which became the characteristic and most universal religious rite of the following centuries.[1]

465. Nature of the Succession. — The weakest point in the imperial constitution was the uncertainty about the method of succession. In theory, just as the early republican magistrates nominated their successors, so the emperor nominated the ablest man in his dominions to the senate for his successor. But this principle was confused from the first by family claims, and later by the whims of the legions. The monarchy was neither elective nor hereditary, but it came in time to combine the worst evils of both systems. The praetorian guards in Rome had to be conciliated by presents from each new ruler, and two centuries later the throne became for a hundred years the prey of military adventurers (§§ 461, 512, 515).

Still, despite this criticism, the student of history must acknowledge sadly the truth of Mommsen's statement regarding the first two centuries (*Provinces*, I. 4): "Seldom has the government of so large a part of the world been conducted for so long a time in so orderly a sequence."

B. Local Administration.

466. Municipal Government.[2] — Throughout the empire great numbers of cities enjoyed a real self-government for local concerns. The magistrates (consuls or duumviri, aediles, and quaestors) were elected in popular assemblies that remained

[1] Read Capes, *Early Empire*, 41–44. The custom was in accord with the universal worship of ancestors and heroes among the ancients, and not so servilely blasphemous as it seems at first to us.

[2] Read Capes, *Early Empire*, 193–198, or Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, 223–238.

active long after the Assembly at Rome had passed away. The election placards posted in the houses of Pompeii (§ 459 *a* 2) show that these political contests were real, with strong popular excitement. The ex-magistrates formed a town council, who voted local taxes, expended them for town purposes, and in general looked after town matters. Their ordinances, sometimes at least, were submitted to the assembly of citizens for approval. Everything indicates the persistence of intense local patriotism; and the *forms* of these municipal institutions (§ 336), derived from the old Republic and organized and extended to the provinces by the Empire, were never to die out in Europe.

It is true, however, that under the Empire the real independence of the local governments was gradually sapped by the habit of referring all matters to the provincial governor, and by the natural tendency of strong rulers to sweep away the irregularities of local institutions in favor of symmetry and greater efficiency. Oftentimes, the better intentioned the ruler, the stronger this evil tendency. Pliny (§ 494) was a worthy servant of a noble emperor; but we find Pliny writing to ask Trajan whether he shall allow the citizens of a town in his province of Bithynia to *repair* their public baths as they desire, or whether he shall require them to *build new ones*,[1] and whether he shall not interfere to compel a wiser use of public moneys lying idle in another town, and to simplify varieties of local politics in others. It is interesting to note that the great Trajan, wiser than his minister, gently rebukes this over-zeal, and will have no wanton meddling with matters that pertain to established rights and customs. But other rulers were not so far-sighted, and this local life did decline before the spirit

[1] Read the correspondence, or at least the excellent extracts in Bury, 440–444, or in Fling's *Studies*, No. 9. Capes' *Antonines*, 23–25, gives a shorter extract. This Roman centralization, however, is matched by the interference of the central government of France in local concerns up to the French Revolution; advanced students may consult Tocqueville's *France before the Revolution*.

of centralization until there were left only the forms. Happily, the barbarians came before the forms, too, were gone, in time to fill them with new life and to preserve them for the modern world.

467. The Provinces.[1] — Above the towns there was no local *self*-government. The administration of the provinces was regulated along the lines Julius Caesar had marked out. The better emperors also gave earnest study to provincial needs; but the imperial government, however paternal and kindly, was despotic and absolute. Provincial assemblies, it is true, were called together sometimes to give the emperor information or advice. These assemblies were made up of delegates from the various towns in a province, and, at first sight, they have the look of representative parliaments; but they never acquired any real political power.[2]

III. IMPERIAL DEFENSE.

A. The Army.

468. Numbers. — The standing army counted thirty legions; the auxiliaries and naval forces raised the total of troops, at the highest, to some four hundred thousand. They were stationed almost wholly on the three exposed frontiers. The inner provinces, as a rule, needed only a handful of soldiers for police purposes. Twelve hundred sufficed to garrison all Gaul. It is a curious thought that the civilized Christian nations which now fill the old Roman territory, with no outside barbarians to dread, keep always under arms ten or twelve times the forces of the Roman emperors. One chief cause of the Empire, it will be remembered, had been the need for more efficient protection of the frontiers. This need the Empire met nobly and economically.

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[1] Advanced students may consult Arnold's *Roman Provincial Administration*.

[2] Read Arnold, 202.

469. Sources. — The recruits were drawn, even in the Early Empire, from the provinces rather than from Italy; and more and more the armies were renewed from the frontiers where they stood. In the third century barbarian mercenaries were admitted on a large scale, and in the following period they came to make the chief strength of the legions.

A German Bodyguard. — A detail from the sculptured relief on the Column of Marcus Aurelius.

470. Industrial and Disciplinary Uses. — The Roman legions were not withdrawn wholly from productive labor. In peace, besides the routine of camp life, they were employed upon public works: "they raised the marvelous Roman roads through hundreds of miles of swamp and forest; they spanned great rivers with magnificent bridges; they built dikes to bar out the sea, and aqueducts and baths to increase the well-being of frontier cities." In the absence of a complex industrial system like ours, the steady discipline of the legions afforded also a moral and physical training for which there were fewer substitutes then than now. At the expiration of their twenty years with the eagles, the veterans became full Roman citizens (no matter whence they had been recruited); they were commonly settled in colonies, with grants of land, and became valuable members of the community.

The legions proved, too, a noble school for commanders.

Merit was carefully promoted, and military incompetence disappeared. Great generals follow one another in endless series, and many of the greatest emperors were soldiers who had risen from the ranks.

B. The Frontiers.

471. The Frontiers as Augustus found them. — Julius Caesar left the empire bounded by natural barriers on three sides and on part of the fourth: the North Sea and the Rhine on the northwest, the Atlantic on the west, the African and Arabian deserts on the south, Arabia and the upper Euphrates on the east, and the Black Sea on the northeast.

The Euphrates limit was not ideally satisfactory: it surrendered to Oriental states half the empire of Alexander, and let the great Parthian kingdom border dangerously upon the Roman world. Julius seems to have intended a sweeping change on this side, but none of his successors (unless it were Trajan) seriously thought of one. The only other unsafe line was on the north, in Europe.

472. The Frontiers as Augustus corrected them. — Augustus aimed to make this northern line secure. He easily annexed the lands south of the lower Danube (modern Servia and Bulgaria — the Roman province of Moesia); and, after many years of stubborn warfare, he added the remaining territory between the Danube and the Alps (the provinces of Rhaetia, Noricum, and Pannonia). The colonizing and Romanizing of these new districts were pressed on actively, and the line of the Danube was firmly secured.

In Germany, Augustus wished, wisely, to move the frontier from the Rhine to the Elbe. The line of the Danube and Elbe is much shorter than that of the Danube and Rhine, though it guards more territory (see map); and it could have been more easily defended, because the critical opening between the upper courses of the rivers is filled by the great natural wall of the mountains of modern Bohemia and Moravia. But here

Augustus failed. The territory between the Rhine and the Elbe was subdued, it is true, and it was held for some years as a province. But in the year 9 A.D. the Germans rose again under the noble Hermann.[1] Varus, the Roman commander, was entrapped in the *Teutoberg Forest*, and in a great three-days' battle his three legions were utterly annihilated. The Roman dominion was at once swept back to the Rhine. This was the first retreat Rome ever made from territory she had once occupied. Roman writers recognized the serious nature of the reverse. Florus expressed it, "And thus from this disaster it came to pass that that empire which had not stayed its march at the shore of ocean did halt at the banks of the Rhine." The aged Augustus was broken by the blow, and for days moaned repeatedly, "O Varus, Varus! give me back my legions!" At his death, five years later, he bequeathed to his successors the injunction that they should be content with the empire as it stood. This policy was adopted perhaps too readily. Tiberius did send expeditions to chastise the Germans, and Roman armies again marched victoriously to the Elbe; the standards of the lost legions were recovered, and a Roman commander won the title Germanicus; but no attempt was made to restore the lost Roman province, and the less satisfactory Rhine became the accepted boundary on that side of the empire.

Still, the general result was both efficient and grand. About the civilized world was drawn a broad belt of stormy waves and desolate sands, and at its weaker gaps — on the Rhine, the Danube, the Euphrates — stood the mighty, sleepless legions to watch and ward.

473. Britain. — Claudius unwisely resumed the attempt to conquer *Britain*. Perhaps if the work could have been carried to completion it would have been well enough; but, after long and costly war, the Roman power reached only to the edge of the highlands in Scotland. Thus a new frontier was added to

[1] Special report; read Creasy's *Decisive Battles*, ch. v., for the struggle.

THE
ROMAN EMPIRE
At its Greatest Extent
SCALE OF ENGLISH MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
SCALE OF ROMAN MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
EXPLANATION
THE ROMAN EMPIRE AT THE DEATH OF CAESAR
THE ROMAN EMPIRE AT THE DEATH OF AUGUSTUS
THE ROMAN EMPIRE UNDER TRAJAN A.D. 117
NORTH SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN
MAURETANIA
AFRICA
BRITANNIA
HIBERNIA
Eboracum
Londinium
Colonia Agrippina
Elbe R.
Moguntiacum
MARCOMANNI
Augusta Treverorum
Augustodunum
Bituricos
GAULIA
AQUITANIA
Lugdunum
Mediolanum
Agunnum
Tolosa
NARBONENSIS
Arelate
Narbo
Massalia
Ravenna
Pola
Aquileia
NORICUM
Vindobona
PANNONIA
Iadera
Salona
ILLYRICUM
DALMATIA
Dyrrhachium
Fidenae
Rome
Ostia
CORSICA
SARDINIA
BALEARES
Tarraco
SPAIN
LUSITANIA
TARRACONENSIS
BOETICA
Gades
New Carthage
Naples
Puteoli
Capua
Pompeii
Herculaneum
Syracuse
Utica
Carthage
NUMIDIA
Longitude East

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the long line that had to be guarded by the sword, and little strength was gained to the empire.

474. The Extreme Limits, and the First Surrenders. — Trajan, with more provocation than that which had lured Claudius into Britain, added *Dacia* north of the lower Danube, and *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Assyria*, in Asia. The two latter were at once abandoned by his successor. Dacia, however, even more than Britain, became Roman in speech, culture, and largely in blood; and though its military protection was aban-

DETAIL FROM TRAJAN'S COLUMN: Trajan sacrificing a bull at the bridge over the Danube just built by his soldiers. Cf. § 487.

doned by Aurelian in the weak period toward the close of the third century (§ 461), still the modern Roumanians there claim to be Roman in race as well as in name. Britain was the next province to be given up, when the frontier began to crumble in earnest in the next great period of decay (§ 591).

475. Frontier Walls. — Since the attempt had failed to secure the great mountain barrier of Bohemia for part of the northern frontier, Domitian wisely constructed an artificial rampart to join the upper Danube to the upper Rhine. This great fortification was three hundred and thirty-six miles in length, with frequent forts and castles. Better known, however, is the

similar work constructed shortly after in Britain, called Hadrian's wall. Its purpose was to help shut out the wild Picts of the north. It extended from the Tyne to the Solway, and considerable remains still exist. Under Antoninus, a like structure was made farther north, just at the foot of the abrupt highlands, from the Clyde to the Forth.

For Further Reading. — An excellent map and description of Hadrian's wall is given in Bury's *Student's Empire*, 502. See also Gardiner's *Student's History of England.*

On Division II. in general, see, especially, Capes and Bury.

IV. SOCIETY IN THE FIRST TWO CENTURIES.[1]

A. Peace and Prosperity.[2]

476. The Good Roman Peace. — The year 69 A.D. (§ 458) is the only break in the quiet of the first two centuries — for the revolts of Boadicea in Britain (58 A.D.) and of Hermann are really frontier wars. The rebellion of *Civilis*[3] on the Gallic side of the Rhine was connected with the disorders of the year 69, and the national rebellion of the Jews (§ 459) began at that same time, and both these, to the empire at large, were trivial disturbances. Even in the third century, when the legions were incessantly warring among themselves in behalf of their favorite commanders, vast regions of the empire were uninterested and undisturbed. All in all, an area as large as the United States, with a population of one hundred millions, rested in the good Roman peace for nearly four hundred years. Never, before or since, has so large a part of the world known such unbroken rest from the horrors and waste of war. Few troops were seen within the empire, and "the distant crash of arms upon the Euphrates or the Danube scarcely disturbed the tranquillity of the Mediterranean lands."

[1] The society of the third century is treated in Division IV.

[2] Besides the specific references in the text below, see Gibbon, ch. ii.; Capes; Freeman's *Flavian Emperors*, in Second Series of *Historical Essays*; Watson's *Aurelius*; Thomas' *Roman Life*; Pellison's *Roman Life.*

[3] Special report.

477. Good Government, even by Bad Emperors. — The Caesars at Rome were sometimes weak or wicked, but their follies or crimes were felt for the most part only by the nobles of the capital. The imperial system became so strong that, save in minor details, the world moved along the same lines whether a mad Caligula or a philanthropic Aurelius sat upon the throne. Indeed, some of the most notable advances in government were made under the worst men — a Tiberius, a Nero, or a Caracalla.

"To the Roman city the Empire was political death; to the provinces it was the beginning of new life. . . . It was not without good reason that the provincials raised their altars to more than one prince for whom the citizens, also not without good reason, sharpened their daggers." — Freeman, *Chief Periods*, 69.

"It was in no mean spirit of flattery that the provincials raised statues and altars to the Emperors, to some even of the vilest who have ever ruled. . . . The people knew next to nothing of their vices and follies, and thought of them chiefly as the symbol of the ruling Providence which throughout the civilized world, had silenced war and faction and secured the blessings of prosperity and peace, before unknown." — Capes, *Early Empire*, 202.

478. Prosperity of the First Two Centuries. — The reign of the Antonines (§ 459 *b* 4 and 5) has been called the "golden age of humanity." Gibbon believed that a man, if allowed his choice, would prefer to have lived then rather than at any other period of the world's history. Mommsen adds his authority: —

"In its sphere, — which those who belonged to it were not far wrong in regarding as the world, — the Empire fostered the peace and prosperity of the many nations united under its sway longer and more completely than any other leading power has ever succeeded in doing. . . . *And if an angel of the Lord were to strike a balance whether the domain ruled by Severus Antoninus was governed with the greater intelligence and greater humanity at that time or in the present day, whether civilization and national prosperity generally have since that time advanced or retrograded, it is very doubtful whether the decision would prove in favor of the present.*" — Mommsen, *Provinces*, 5.

The roads were safe; piracy ceased from the seas, and trade flourished as it was not to flourish again for a thousand years.

The ports were crowded with shipping, and the Mediterranean was spread with happy sails. An immense traffic flowed ceaselessly between Europe and Central Asia along three great arteries: one in the north by the Black Sea and by caravan (along the line of the present Russian trans-Caspian railway); one on the south by Suez and the Red Sea; one by caravan across Arabia, where, amid the sands, arose white-walled Palmyra, Queen of the Desert.[1] From frontier to frontier, communication was safe and rapid. The grand military and post roads ran in great trunk-lines — a thousand miles at a stretch — from every frontier toward the central heart of the empire, with a dense network of ramifications in every province. Guide books described routes and distances, and inns abounded. The imperial couriers that hurried along the great highways passed a hundred or a hundred and fifty milestones a day; and private travel, from the Thames to the Euphrates, was swifter, safer, and more comfortable than again until well into the nineteenth century. Everywhere rude stockaded villages changed into stately marts of trade, huts into palaces, footpaths into paved Roman roads. Roman irrigation made part of the African desert the garden of the world; and desolate ruins of that prosperity mock the traveler of to-day from the drifting sands.[2] In Gaul, Caesar found no real towns; in the third century that province had one hundred and sixteen flourishing cities, with their baths, temples, amphitheaters, works of art, roads, aqueducts, and schools of eloquence and rhetoric.

479. Forms of Industry. — It is difficult to re-create an image of the throbbing, busy life of the empire. Plainly it was a city life; equally plain it is, that it rested on agriculture as the chief wealth-producing industry. We are to think of a few great cities, like Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, with

[1] On trade routes to China, advanced students may see Bury's *Gibbon*, IV. Appendix, p. 534 ff.

[2] Under French rule North Africa, in the last of the nineteenth century, began to recover its Roman prosperity after a lapse of fifteen hundred years.

populations varying from two million to two hundred thousand, and with their rabble fed by the state; and then of the rest of the empire mapped into municipia, — each a farming district with a town for its core. Within the town, modern manufacturing works were absent. For gentlemen there were the occupations of law, the army, teaching, literature, medicine, and the farming of large estates. Lower classes made the merchants, architects, shopkeepers, weavers, fullers, and artisans. In medicine there was considerable subdivision of labor. We hear of dentists and of specialists for the eye and for the ear. The shopkeepers and artisans were organized in companies, or guilds. Unskilled manual labor in country and city was carried on by slaves, and they rendered assistance also in many higher forms of work.

B. The World becomes Roman.

480. Political Unity. — Julius Caesar had begun the rapid expansion of Roman citizenship beyond Italy. Through his legislation the number of adult males with the franchise rose from some nine hundred thousand to over four million.[1] Augustus was more cautious, but before his death the total reached nearly five million. This represented a population of some twenty-five million people, in an empire of nearly one hundred million, including slaves. Claudius made the next great advance, after a curious debate in his council,[2] raising the total of adult male citizens fit for military service to about seven millions. Hadrian completed the enfranchisement of Gaul and Spain. And the final step was taken by Caracalla (212 A.D.), who made all free inhabitants of the empire full citizens. This completed the process of political absorption that began when the Romans and Sabines of the Palatine and Quirinal made their first compact.

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[1] This is the increase between 70 B.C. (after the admission of the Italians) and 27 B.C. The greater part of the growth must have been due to the reforms of Caesar.

[2] Read Tacitus, *Annals*, xi. 24–25.

By the time of Caracalla the franchise was no longer exercised, of course, for the Roman Assembly had ceased except as a mob gathering. But eligibility to offices and the perfect equality before the law were high privileges.

481. A Unity in Feeling, as well as in Law. — By its generous policy, by its prosperity and good government, by its uniform law, and its easy intercommunication, the Empire won spiritual dominion over the hearts and minds of men. Rome molded the manifold races of her realms into one — not by conscious effort or by violent legislation, but through their own affectionate choice.[1] Gaul, Briton, Dacian, African, Greek, called themselves Romans. They really became so, in life, thought, and feeling. They were so in speech and culture. The East kept its Greek tongue and a pride in its earlier civilization (§ 391), but it, too, turned from the glories of Miltiades and Leonidas for what seemed the higher honor of the Roman name; and East and West alike used the Roman law and Roman political institutions.

This union was not, like that of previous empires, one of external force. It was organic — in the inner life of the people. The provincials had no reason to feel a difference. From them now came the men of letters that made Roman literature, and the grammarians that defined the Roman language (§§ 491, 492, and elsewhere); they furnished the emperors; in their cities arose schools of rhetoric that taught the finer use of Latin even to youth born by the Tiber. The poet Claudian, an Egyptian Greek of the fourth century, expressed this far-reaching patriotism in noble lines: —

[1] Very different from the violent measures used by Russia or Germany today to nationalize their mixed populations, and more like the unconscious absorption of many stocks in the United States. The Roman army as a means of mixing the many races into one must not be forgotten, however; "Spanish legions were stationed in Switzerland, Swiss in Britain, Pannonians in Africa, Illyrians in Armenia." They settled and married in their new homes and helped to produce a race uniform even in blood.

"Rome, Rome alone has found the spell to charm
The tribes that bowed beneath her conquering arm;
Has given one name to the whole human race,
And clasped and sheltered them in fond embrace, —
Mother, not mistress; called her foe her son;
And by soft ties made distant countries one.
This to her peaceful scepter all men owe, —
That through the nations, wheresoe'er we go
Strangers, we find a fatherland. Our home
We change at will; we count it sport to roam
Through distant Thule, or with sails unfurled
Seek the most drear recesses of the world.
Though we may tread Rhone's or Orontes' shore,
Yet are we all one nation evermore."

And says George Burton Adams: —

"It was a genuine absorption, not a mere contented living under a foreign government. Local dress, religions, manners, family names, language, and literature, political and legal institutions, race pride, disappeared for all except the lowest classes, and everything became really Roman, so that neither they (the new Romans) nor the Romans by blood ever felt in any way the difference of descent." — *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, 23.

482. Consequent Diffusion of Social Life. — Life did not remain centralized at Rome as in the first century. To condense a passage from Freeman's *Impressions of Rome*: —

"Her walls were no longer on the Tiber, but on the Danube, the Rhine, and the German Ocean. Instead of an outpost at Janiculum, her fortresses were at York and Trier. Many of the emperors after the first century were more at home in these and other distant cities than in the ancient capital, which they visited perhaps only two or three times in a reign for some solemn pageant. In these once provincial towns the pulse of Roman life beat more strongly than in Old Rome itself."

Exercise. — Note that the physical conquests of Rome were chiefly made under the Republic. The Empire was a defensive civilized state, and its wars, with rare exceptions, were not for conquest. For the moral question regarding the earlier conquest, cf. § 437.

The student may profitably try to comprehend intelligently many questions which he must not expect to answer. Among them, at this

point: Did Roman conquest prevent a Gallic or Spanish native civilization? Was the education that Rome gave her provinces too uniform, so as to crush originality? Was the slower absorption of the same culture later by the Teutons so much more helpful in the end because of their method of obtaining it?

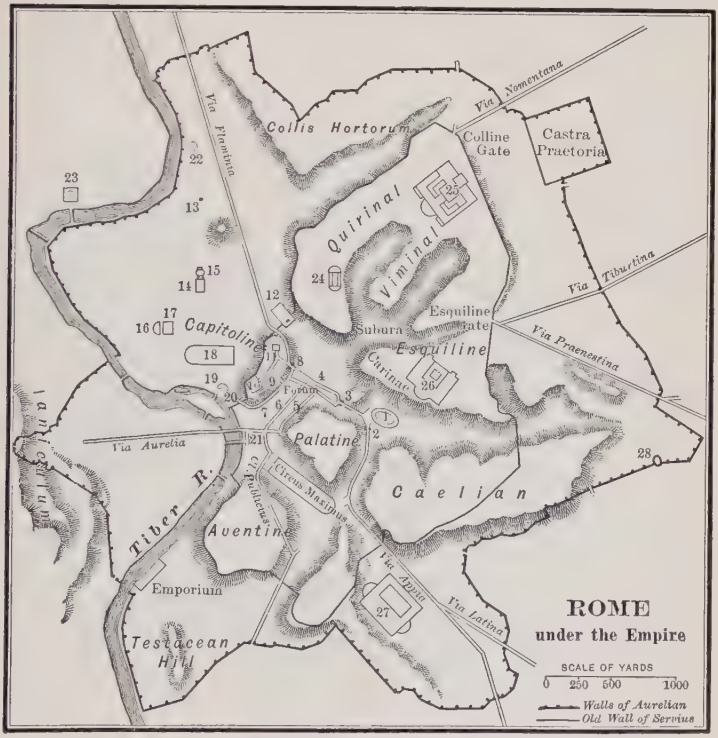
C. Education in the First Three Centuries.[1]

483. The Universities. — The three great centers of learning were Rome, Alexandria, and Athens. In these cities there were *universities*, as we should call them now, fully organized, with vast libraries and numerous professorships. The early Ptolemies in Egypt had begun such foundations at Alexandria (§ 258). Augustus followed their example at Athens, from his private fortune. Vespasian first paid salaries from the public treasury, and Marcus Aurelius began the practice of permanent state endowments. The professors had the rank of senators, with good salaries for life and with various privileges and exemptions. At Rome there were ten chairs of Latin Grammar (language and literary criticism); ten of Greek; three of Latin Rhetoric, which commonly included law and politics as applications; three of Philosophy, which included dialectics, or logic; and two specially of Roman Law. These represent the three chief studies (the *trivium*) — language, rhetoric, and philosophy. Besides these there was another group of studies, mathematical in nature — music, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy (the *quadrivium*). Other special studies clustered about these. Thus law was a specialty at Rome, and medicine at Alexandria.

484. "Grammar Schools" in the Provinces, and Lower Schools. — Below these universities, in all large provincial towns, there were "grammar schools," endowed by the emperors from Vespasian's time, corresponding in some measure to advanced high

[1] Cf. Inge; Thomas; Capes; Bury; Dill, 399–428 (excellent); Kingsley's *Alexandria and Her Schools* (in Historical Lectures); Laurie's *Rise of the Universities* (Lecture I. pp. 1–17).

schools or colleges. Those in Gaul and Spain were especially famous; in particular, the ones at Massilia (Marseilles), Autun, Narbonne, Lyons, Bordeaux, Toulouse. The reputation of their instructors drew students from all the empire. The walls were painted with maps, dates, lists of facts. The



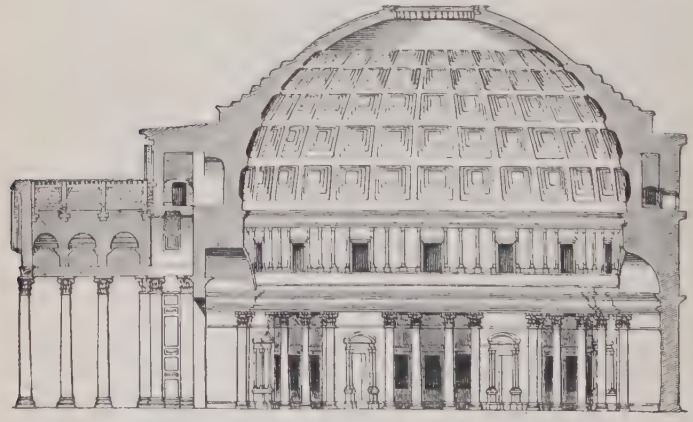
1. Coliseum.
2. Arch of Constantine.
3. Arch of Titus.
4. Via Sacra.
5. Via Nova.
6. Vicus Tuscus.
7. Vicus Jugarius.
8. Arch of Septimius Severus.
9. Clivus Capitolinus.
10. Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.
11. Arch.
12. Column of Trajan.
13. Column of Antoninus.
14. Baths of Agrippa.
15. Pantheon.
16. Theater of Pompey.
17. Portico of Pompey.
18. Circus Flaminius.
19. Theater of Marcellus.
20. Forum Holitorium.
21. Forum Boarium.
22. Mausoleum of Augustus.
23. Mausoleum of Hadrian.
24. Baths of Constantine.
25. Baths of Diocletian.
26. Baths of Titus.
27. Baths of Caracalla.
28. Amphitheatrum Castrense.

masters were appointed by local magistrates, with life tenure and good pay. Like the professors in the universities, they were exempt from taxation and had many privileges — the origin of the later "benefit of clergy" in the Middle Ages. In the smaller towns were numerous schools of a lower grade.

All this education of course was for the upper and middle classes, and for occasional bright boys from the lower classes who had found some wealthy patron; and it could do little toward dispelling the dense ignorance of the masses.

D. Architecture.[1]

485. Characteristics. — Architecture was the chief Roman art. With the Early Empire it takes on its distinctive char-



A Section of the Pantheon as at Present.

acter. To the Greek columns it adds the noble Roman arch, with its modification, the dome. As compared with Greek

[1] Ferguson's *Ancient and Modern Architecture;* Inge, ch. v.; Thomas, ch. iii.; Boissier's *Rome and Pompeii;* Dyer's *Pompeii;* Lanciani's *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries* and *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome.* In the absence of such works, articles on architecture in good encyclopaedias will be found useful.

architecture it has more massive grandeur and is more ornate, besides having its new forms. The Romans commonly used the rich Corinthian column instead of the more chaste and simple Doric or Ionic.

486. The Reign of Augustus an Age of Building. — With good reason Augustus boasted that he "found Rome brick, and left it marble." Livy calls him the "builder of all the temples in

The Coliseum To-day.

Rome." In fact, he himself built twelve temples, and extensively repaired eighty-two more, besides constructing numerous theaters and porticoes. Roman nobles emulated his example, and throughout the Empire wealthy citizens began to do the like for their home cities.

487. Famous Buildings and Types. — The most famous building of the Augustan Age is the *Pantheon*, — "shrine of all saints and temple of

all gods," — built by the minister Agrippa in the Campus Martius. It is a circular structure, one hundred and thirty-two feet in diameter and of the same height, surmounted by a majestic dome that originally flashed with tiles of bronze. The interior is broadly flooded with light from an aperture in the dome twenty-six feet in diameter. The inside walls were formed of splendid columns of yellow marble, with gleaming white capitals, supporting noble arches, upon which again rested more pillars and another row of arches — up to the base of the dome. Under the arches

Arch of Constantine To-day.

in pillared recesses stood the statues of the gods of all religions, for this grand temple was symbolic of the grander toleration and unity of the Roman world. Time has dealt gently with it, and almost alone of the buildings of its day it has lasted to ours.[1]

The *Coliseum*[2] was begun by Vespasian and finished by Domitian. It is a vast stone amphitheater (*two* theaters, back to back) for wild beast

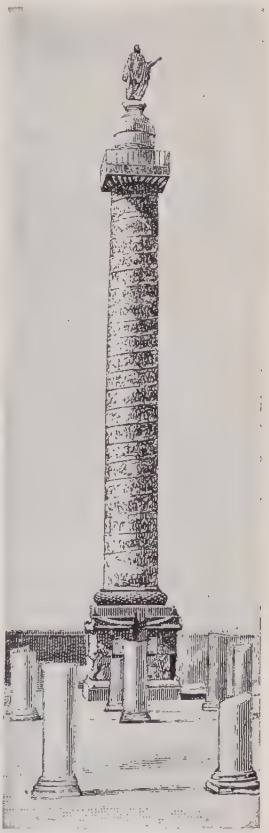
[1] Read the picture in Byron's *Childe Harold*, canto iv.

[2] Read the description in Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, bk. i. ch. xii.

shows and games. It covers six acres, and the walls rise one hundred and fifty feet. It is said to have seated eighty thousand spectators. For centuries in the Middle Ages its ruins were used as a quarry for the palaces of Roman nobles, but its huge size has prevented its destruction.

A favorite modification of the arch was the *triumphal arch*, adorned with sculptures and covered with inscriptions, spanning a street, as if it were a city gate. Among the more famous structures of this kind in Rome were the arches of Titus, Trajan, Antoninus, and, later, of Constantine.

The Romans erected also splendid monumental columns. The finest surviving example is *Trajan's Column*, one hundred feet high, circled with spiral bands of sculpture, containing over twenty-five thousand human figures, and illustrating Trajan's Dacian expedition.



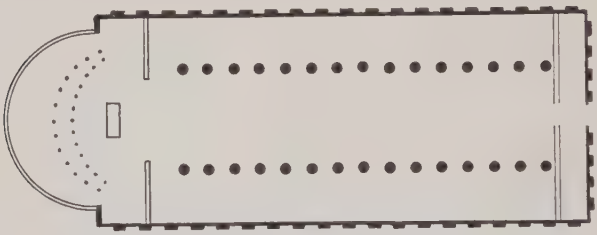
Trajan's Column To-day.

488. Roman Basilica and the Later Christian Architecture. — One other structure must have special mention. A little before the Empire, the Romans adopted the Greek basilica[1] and soon made it a favorite form of public building for the law courts of the praetor and for the legal business connected with the imperial palaces.

The general plan was that of a great oblong hall, its length some three times its breadth, with a circular raised *apse* at the end, where sat the numerous judges in concentric curves. The hall itself was divided by two long rows of pillars into three parts running from the entrance to the apse — a central nave and two smaller aisles, one on each side. Sometimes there were double rows of pillars, making two aisles on each side

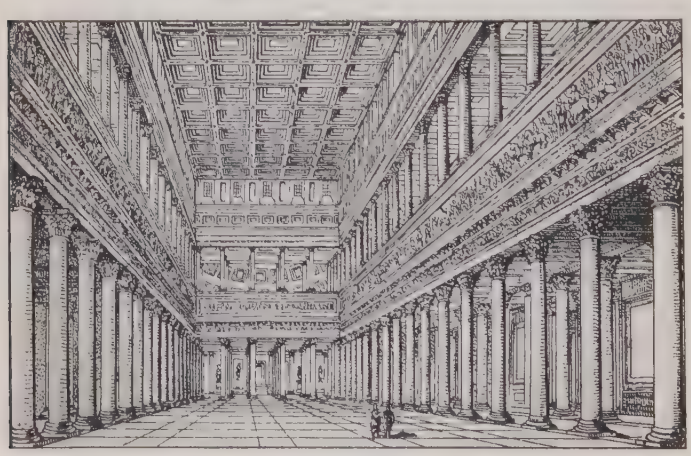
[1] So called from the hall at Athens where the *basileus archon* (king-archon) heard cases at law involving religious questions.

of the nave, as in Trajan's basilica. The nave was left open up to the lofty roof, but above the side aisles there were galleries shut off by a parapet wall, which supported a row of elevated pillars. These galleries were for the general public.



Plan of a Basilica.

The Christians found this building admirably adapted for their worship. After the conversion of the Empire, numerous basilicae were converted



Interior View of Trajan's Basilica, as restored by Canina.

directly into churches, and for centuries all ecclesiastical buildings had this general plan. With some modifications, it grew into the plan of the medieval cathedral.

Special Reports. — The Roman house; the Roman villa; mosaic pavements; excavations at Pompeii.

E. Literature.[1]

Literature plays so small a part in Roman life until just before the Empire, that it has not been needful to mention it until now. To grasp the literary conditions under the Empire, however, it is desirable to survey the whole field.

489. Before the Age of Cicero. — Rome had no literature until the middle of the third century B.C. Then the influence of her conquest of Magna Graecia began to be felt. *Livius Andronicus*, a Greek slave from Tarentum, introduced the drama at Rome; but his plays and those of his successor *Naevius* were mainly translations from older Greek writers.

Ennius, also from Magna Graecia, comes in the period just after the Second Punic War. He also translated Greek dramas to amuse the Roman populace, but his chief work was an epic on the legendary history of Rome.

Comedy was represented by two still greater names, *Plautus* (of Umbrian origin) and *Terence* (a slave from Carthage). Both modeled their plays upon those of the Greek Menander (§ 255). Plautus (254–184 B.C.) is lively and rollicking, but gross. Terence (a generation later) is more refined and elegant. Twenty plays of the former survive, and six of the latter.

To the period between the Second and Third Punic wars belong also the *Origines* of Cato (early history of Rome) and his writings on Agriculture, an earlier history by Fabius Pictor, and the great history by the Greek *Polybius*, all of whom have been referred to before in this volume.

490. The First Century B.C., before Augustus: the Age of Cicero. — The chief glory of this period is Cicero himself, who remains the foremost orator of Rome and the master of Latin prose for all time. Two great poets belong to the period: *Lucretius* the Epicurean, a Roman knight, who, though didactic, reaches a sublimity never attained by other Latin poets;[2] and *Catullus* from *Cisalpine Gaul*, whose lyrics are unsur-

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[1] Mackail, *Latin Literature;* Cruttwell, *Roman Literature.*

[2] Note Mrs. Browning's characterization in the *Vision of Poets:* —

> "Lucretius nobler than his mood;
> Who dropped his plummet down the broad,
> Deep Universe, and said "No God,"
> Finding no bottom. He denied
> Divinely the Divine, and died
> Chief poet by the Tiber-side,
> By grace of God!"

passed for delicacy and beauty, and who attacked Caesar with scurrilous invective, to meet only gentle forgiveness.

History is represented by the concise, graphic, lucid narrative of *Caesar*, the picturesque stories of *Sallust* (who is our chief authority for the conspiracy of Catiline and the Jugurthine War), and by the inferior work of Nepos and Varro.

491. The Augustan Age. — Now the stream broadens, and only the more important writers can be mentioned.

Horace (son of an Apulian freedman) wrote the most graceful of *Odes* and most playful of *Satires*, while his *Epistles* combine agreeably the perfection of serene common sense with beauty of expression.

Vergil (from Cisalpine Gaul) is probably the chief Roman poet. He is best known to schoolboys by his epic, the *Aeneid*, but critics rank higher his *Georgics* (an exquisite agricultural poem). In the Middle Ages Vergil was regarded as the greatest of poets, and Dante was proud to acknowledge him for a master.

Ovid (Roman knight) has for his chief work *The Metamorphoses*, a mythological poem. Ovid's last years were spent in banishment on the shores of the Black Sea, and there he wrote pathetic verses that will always keep alive a gentle memory for his name.

Livy (of Cisalpine Gaul) and *Dionysius* (an Asiatic Greek) wrote their great histories of Rome in this reign. *Diodorus* (a Sicilian Greek) wrote the first general history of the world. Greek science is continued by *Strabo* of Asia Minor (living at Alexandria), who produced a systematic geography of the Roman world. He speculated on the possibility of one or more continents in the unexplored Atlantic between Europe and Asia. The last three wrote in Greek.

In the same first century A.D., a little later than Augustus, we have among other authors the following: the poets *Lucan* and *Martial* (famous for his satirical wit), both Spaniards; the Jewish historian *Josephus* (writing in Greek); the scientist *Pliny the Elder* (of Cisalpine Gaul), who perished in the eruption of Vesuvius in his scientific zeal to observe the phenomena; the rhetorician *Quintilian* (a Spaniard); the philosophers *Epictetus* and *Seneca* (both Stoics). Seneca was a Roman noble of Spanish birth; Epictetus was a slave from Phrygia; both taught a lofty philosophy, but the slave was the nobler both in teaching and in life. Epictetus wrote in Greek.

492. The Second Century. — *Poetry* is represented only by the Syrian *Lucian*, writing in Greek, and by the Italian *Juvenal*, both bitter satirists of contemporary society.

In *history* we have: —

Appian (Alexandrian Greek): history of the different parts of the empire; wrote in Greek.

Arrian (Asiatic Greek): biographies of Alexander and his successors; and treatises on geography; *Arrian* wrote in Greek.

Plutarch (Boeotian): author of the famous *Lives* ("the text-book of heroism") and of a great treatise on *Morals* (in Greek, of course).

Suetonius: biographer of the first twelve Caesars.

Tacitus (Roman noble): author of the *Germania* (a description of the Germans) and of a great history of his own times (the *Annals*) and of the lost *Histories*.

Contemporary society is charmingly illustrated in the *Letters* of *Pliny the Younger* (Cisalpine Gaul; Roman magistrate).

Science is represented by: —

Galen (Asiatic Greek): Greek treatises on medicine.

Ptolemy (Egyptian): astronomer and geographer; wrote in Greek; his work was the authority for centuries; taught that the earth was round and that the heavens revolved about it for their center.

Pausanias (Asiatic Greek): traveler and geographical writer; wrote in Greek.

Philosophy has for its chief representative: —

Marcus Aurelius, the emperor: his volume of *Thoughts* is marked by a gentle humanity and by a deep religious feeling; in him pagan philosophy makes its nearest approach to the teaching of Christ (§ 503).

The Christian religion: the books of the New Testament received their present form in Greek.

EXERCISE. — Note the significance in the use of Greek or Latin by the authors named above (and cf. § 391).

F. PAGAN MORALS AND RELIGION.[1]

493. The Dark Side. — Many causes combine to blacken the picture of the morals of the age. Our records put most stress on the court and the capital; and there is no doubt but that in the first century, and even in part of the second, the reality

[1] Specific references are given in the notes below. Further reading in Inge, Thomas, Lecky, Capes' *Early Empire*, chs. xviii. and xix. Advanced students will profit from Dill's *Roman Life*, bk. i. chs. i.–iv.

there was dark enough; the court atmosphere was rank with profligate intrigue; many of the great nobles of Italy were sunk in coarse orgies, and the rabble of Rome was vicious with the offscourings of all nations. In other great cities, too, the mob was ignorant, wretched, and cruel. The gladiatorial games, where sometimes thousands of men fought men or wild beasts in fantastic combinations to amuse spectators by their dying agonies, seem to us a blot beyond anything else in human history.[1] The old practice of exposing infants, to avoid the cost of rearing them, grew among the lower classes. The old family discipline had gone. The terrible frequency of divorce is railed at by the satirists, much as with us by our newspaper wits. Slavery cast its shadow over the Roman world.

494. The Danger of Exaggeration: the Brighter Side. — Yet it is certain that a picture from these materials alone is seriously misleading. Standards of morals were shifting, and there was much confusion and corruption, but there was also much good. The fresh, unexhausted populations of north Italy, and of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, and the great middle class over all the empire, remained essentially virtuous. Satirists like Juvenal or moralists like Tacitus are no more to be accepted absolutely than racy wits and scolding preachers for our own day; and some of our "historical novels" drawn from such sources, aside from their execrable taste and dubious morality, are grossly unhistorical in spirit.[2] The first two centuries show a steady amelioration in morals, even if we look only to pagan society. The *Letters* of Pliny reveal, even in court circles, a society high-minded, refined, and virtuous. Pliny himself is well-nigh a type of the finest gentleman of to-day, in delicacy of feeling, sensitive honor, genial and thoughtful courtesy.[3]

[1] For an excellent treatment, Lecky, *European Morals*, I. 271–291.

[2] Read Dill, *Roman Society*, 115–117, for a wholesome treatment of the danger of exaggeration and misinterpretation in this field.

[3] Read a charming essay, *A Roman Gentleman under the Empire* (Pliny), by Harriet Walters Preston, in *The Atlantic* for June, 1886. Thomas, chs. xi. and xiv., and Capes' *Antonines*, ch. v., present similar pictures.

Marcus Aurelius and his father (§ 459) illustrate like qualities on the throne; Epictetus shows them in slavery. All these are surrounded by friends whom they think good and happy people. Indeed, in a close survey, over against each evil we can set a good. Some distinct lines of improvement are noted in the following six sections.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. — A bust now in the Louvre.

495. Women became free,[1] the equals of men in law, and companions instead of servants in the family. If the confusion of the change brought corruption in some circles, it brought nobler virtue in others. A higher view of marriage appeared than ever before in the pagan world. Plutarch and Seneca, for the first time in history, insisted that men in all relations be judged by the same moral standard as women; and Roman law adopted this principle in the decrees of Antoninus and the maxims of Ulpian (§ 512). Plutarch's precepts on marriage "fall little if at all below any of modern days," and his own family life afforded a beautiful ideal of domestic happiness.[2]

[1] On the position of women, read Lecky, *European Morals*, ch. v.

[2] Lecky, II. 289.

Plutarch urges the highest intellectual culture for women; and, says Lecky: —

"Intellectual culture was much diffused among them, and we meet with noble instances of large and accomplished minds united with all the gracefulness of intense womanhood and all the fidelity of the truest love. . . . The story of Brutus' Portia is preserved by Shakspere, and more fully in Plutarch. The wife of Seneca desired to die with her husband. When Paetus, a noble Roman, was ordered by Nero to put himself to death, his friends knew that his wife Arria, with her love and her heroic fervor, would not survive him. Her son-in-law tried to dissuade her from suicide by saying: 'If *I* am called upon to perish, would you wish your daughter to die with me?' She answered, 'Yes, if she has then lived with you as long and happily as I with Paetus.' Paetus for a moment hesitated to strike the fatal blow, but Arria, taking the dagger, plunged it deeply into her breast, and then, dying, handed it to her husband, exclaiming, 'My Paetus, it does not pain!'"

FAUSTINA (wife of Marcus Aurelius). — A bust now in the Louvre.

496. Charity. — Public and private charity abounded. Homes for poor children were established. Wealthy men loaned money below the regular rate of interest, and provided free medicine for the poor. Tacitus tells how, after a great acci-

dent near Rome, the rich opened their houses and gave their wealth to relieve the sufferers. (See also § 459 *b* 2.)

497. Kindness to Animals. — Literature for the first time abounds in tender interest in animal life. Cato in the days of the "virtuous Republic" had advised selling old or infirm slaves; Plutarch in the "degenerate Empire" could never bring himself to sell an ox in its old age.[1] We find protests even against hunting; and severe punishments were inflicted for wanton cruelty to animals. There seems little doubt that animals under the pagan Empire were better treated than in Southern Europe to-day. The gladiatorial games continued, it is true. The populace could not be deprived of them, and even the gentle ladies of fashionable society patronized them. They were defended by arguments like those used for bull-fights, bear baiting, cockfighting, and the prize ring, in later times; but at last critics began to be heard, as never in republican days, and Marcus Aurelius for his time made the combats harmless by compelling the use of blunted swords. Moreover, strange as the fact is, it is true beyond doubt — so strong is fashion even in the field of morals — that the passion for these inhuman games was not inconsistent with humanity in other respects.

498. Slavery grew milder. — Emancipation became so common that six years is estimated as the average duration of domestic slavery. The horrible story of Pollio, a Roman noble who threw a slave alive to the lampreys in a fish pond for carelessly breaking a precious vessel, is often given as typical. It belongs in any case to the very beginning of the Empire, while there was yet no check *in law* upon a master; but even then, Augustus, by a stretch of humane despotism, ordered all the tableware in Pollio's house to be broken and his fish ponds to be filled up. Evidently this means that such a master was socially ostracised. In Nero's time a special judge

[1] Read Lecky, II. 165.

was appointed to hear slaves' complaints and to punish cruelties to them, and Seneca tells us that cruel masters were jeered in the streets. Law began to protect the slave directly also by imperial edicts, and his condition steadily improved.[1]

499. Sympathies Broadened. — The philosophers taught the brotherhood of man; and even the rabble in the Roman theater, we are told, were wont to applaud the line of Terence: "I am a man; no calamity that can affect any man is without meaning to me." The age prided itself, justly, upon its enlightened humanity, much as our own does. Trajan instructed a governor not to act upon anonymous accusations, because such conduct "*does not belong to our age.*"

500. The Gentler Spirit of Imperial Law. — The result of this broader humanity not only showed in society at large, but, more important to us, it *was crystallized* in the Roman law.[2] The harsh law of the Republic became humane. Women and children shared its protection. Torture was limited. The rights of the accused were better recognized. From this time dates the maxim, "Better to let the guilty escape than to punish the innocent." "All men by the law of nature are equal," became a law maxim through the great jurist Ulpian — a phrase that was to work political revolutions in distant ages. At the time it had a practical consequence. Slavery, argued Ulpian, existed only by the lower artificial law. Hence in all unproven cases, the benefit of the doubt was given to the man claimed as a slave.[3]

501. Scepticism and Religion. — The masses of the people remained, as always, sincerely devout. The upper classes were sceptical scoffers in the last days of the Republic, and Cicero

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[1] Lecky, I. 303–308.

[2] Read Lecky, I. 294–297, and Curteis, 17. Hadley, *Roman Law*, Lectures II. and III., and Gibbon, ch. xliv., give longer discussions.

[3] It is curious to remember that the presumption was just the other way in nearly all Christian countries through the Middle Ages, and in the United States under the Fugitive Slave Laws from 1793 to the Civil War.

wondered how two augurs could meet without laughing in each other's faces. This tendency continued through the first century A.D., but seems to have given way after that to a revival of religious feeling and to a more devout tone in philosophy.

502. The Change in Moral Standards due in Part to Despotism. — "That effeminacy fell upon men which always infects them when they live under the rule of an all-powerful soldiery. But with effeminacy there came in time a development of the feminine virtues. Men ceased to be adventurous, patriotic, just, magnanimous; but in exchange they became chaste, tender-hearted, loyal, religious, capable of infinite endurance in a good cause." — SEELEY, *Roman Imperialism*, 33.

G. EXTRACTS TO SHOW THE HIGHER PAGAN MORALITY.

503. From the *Thoughts* of Marcus Aurelius: —

Aurelius thanks the gods "for a good grandfather, good parents, a good sister, good teachers, good associates, and good friends."

"From my mother I learned piety, and abstinence not only from evil deeds but from evil thoughts." From a tutor " . . . not to credit miracle workers and jugglers, with their incantations and driving away of demons; . . . to read carefully, and not to be satisfied with a superficial understanding of a book."

"There are briers in the road? Then turn aside from them, but do not add, 'Why were such things made?' Thou wilt be ridiculed by a man who is acquainted with nature, as thou wouldst be by a carpenter or shoemaker if thou didst complain that there were shavings and cuttings in his shop."

"All that is from the gods is full of providence."

"On every vexation apply this principle: This is not a misfortune, but to bear it nobly is good fortune."

"The best way to avenge thyself is not to become like the wrongdoer."

"When thou wishest to delight thyself, think of the virtues of those who live with thee."

"Love men; revere the gods." [Does not this come near 'the two commandments'?]

"As emperor I am a Roman, but as a man my city is the world."

"Think of thyself as a member of the great human body, — else thou dost not love men from thy heart."

"Suppose that men curse thee, or kill thee . . . if a man stand by a

pure spring and curse it, the spring does not cease to send up wholesome water."

"To say all in a word, everything which belongs to the body is a stream, and all that belongs to the soul is a dream and a vapor; life is a warfare and a stranger's sojourn, and after fame is oblivion. What then is there about which we ought seriously to employ ourselves? This one thing — just thoughts and social acts, words that do not lie, and temper which accepts gladly all that happens."

"Why then dost thou not wait in tranquillity for thy end, whether it be extinction or removal to another life? And until that time comes, what is sufficient? Why, what else than to venerate the gods and bless them, and to do good to men, and to practice tolerance and self-restraint."

"Everything harmonizes with me which is harmonious to thee, O Universe! Nothing is too early or too late which is in due time for thee! Everything is fruit to me which thy seasons bring, O Nature! From thee are all things, in thee are all things; to thee all things return. The poet says, Dear city of Cecrops; and shall not I say, Dear city of Zeus?"

"Many grains of frankincense upon the same altar; one falls before, another after; but it makes no difference."

"Pass through this little space of time conformably to Nature, and end thy journey in content — just as an olive falls when it is ripe, blessing Nature who produced it and thanking the tree on which it grew."

"What is it to me to live in a universe if devoid of gods. But in truth gods do exist, and they do care for human things, and they have put the means in man's power to enable him not to fall into real evil."

"It is sweet to live if there be gods, and sad to die if there be none."[1]

504. From Epictetus:—

"He is unreasonable who is grieved at things which happen from the necessity of nature."

"Nothing is smaller than love of pleasure and love of gain and pride. Nothing is superior to magnanimity and gentleness and love of mankind and beneficence."

"What we ought not to do we should not even think of doing."

"No man is free who is not master of himself."

"Think of God more frequently than you breathe."

"Fortify yourself with contentment, for this is an impregnable fortress."

"If you wish to be good, first believe that you are bad."

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[1] Read Watson's *Marcus Aurelius*, or Matthew Arnold's, in *Essays in Criticism*, First Series.

"Do not so much be ashamed of that disgrace which proceeds from men's opinions as fly from that which comes from the truth."

"No man who loves money and pleasure and fame, also loves mankind, but only he who loves virtue."

"If you wish to be rich, know it is neither a good thing nor in your power; if you wish to be happy, it is a good thing and in your power; for the one is a temporary loan of fortune, but happiness comes from the will."

"When you die you will not exist, but you will be something else of which the world has need; you came into existence not when you chose, but when the world had need of you."

"To me all significations are auspicious if I choose; for, whatever results, it is in my power to derive benefit from it."

"It is not possible to be free from faults; but it is possible to direct your efforts incessantly to bring faultlessness."

"Death or pain is not formidable, but the fear of pain or death."

H. Christianity.

505. Some Inner Sources of its Power. — Meanwhile a new creative force had arisen — the greatest single power that has ever worked upon the souls of men. God as a tender father replaced the gods demanding worship for themselves as the price of holding their hands from afflicting men. Confidence in a blissful life after death replaced the old gloomy and shadowy future. The obligation of pure and helpful living was substituted for the duty of minute ceremonial. Christianity made hope, love, and mutual helpfulness the essence of religion for the masses of men, and it replaced the lofty but trembling aspirations of the noblest philosophers by a sure and glowing faith. Individuals in the pagan world, it is true, like Plato and Aurelius, held opinions regarding God, duty, immortality, not unlike the teachings of Christ; but through Christianity these higher doctrines, "which the noblest intellects of [pagan] antiquity could barely grasp, have become the truisms of the village school, the proverbs of the cottage and the alley."[1]

[1] Lecky, *European Morals*. See that work (II. 1–4) on the relation of pagan speculation and teaching to Christian faith; and also some good pages in Matthew Arnold's *Essays in Criticism*, First Series, 345–348.

506. Debt to the Roman Empire.[1] — In three distinct ways the Empire had made preparation for Christianity.

The gentler humanizing tendency of the age, and the change in standard of morals, made easier the victory of Christianity, with its emphasis on humility and self-sacrifice. The debt to the political organization will be noted later (§ 533). Easiest of all to trace is the debt to Roman imperial unity. Except for the widespread rule of Rome, Christianity could hardly have reached beyond Judea. The early Christian writers recognized this, and regarded the creation of the Empire as a providential preparation. No other government was tolerant enough to permit the spread of such novel worship. The Empire had tolerated broadly the religions of all nations (except those believed to be seriously immoral), and so melted down sharp local prejudices. The political and social unification of the Empire, with its common language and customs, laid the foundation for its spiritual union in Christianity. Says Renan: —

"It is not easy to imagine how, in the face of an Asia Minor, a Greece, an Italy, split into a hundred small republics, and of Gaul, Spain, Africa, Egypt, in possession of their old national institutions, the apostles could have succeeded, or even how their project could have been started."

507. The Earlier Persecutions. — The Roman Empire encouraged the utmost freedom of thought upon all subjects. Marcus Aurelius, in appointing men to the endowed chairs of philosophy at Rome, seems to have been indifferent to their agreement with his own philosophical beliefs. Why, then, did Rome persecute the early Christians?

To understand this at all, it is best to treat separately the "persecution" under Nero, and the persecutions in the following century.

We know from the Book of Acts that within thirty years after the death of Christ his disciples were to be found in all large cities of the eastern part of the Empire, and that they

[1] Read Fisher's *Beginnings of Christianity*, 47–73.

had appeared in Rome itself.[1] They were still confined, however, almost wholly to the lower classes of society, and cultivated Romans heard of them only by chance, if at all, and as a despised sect of the Jews. The Jews themselves accused the Christians of all crimes and impieties, — of eating young children and of horrible orgies in the secret love-feasts, or communion suppers. The accusation was accepted carelessly, because of the secrecy of the Christian meetings and the deplorable tendencies to licentious rites in various eastern religions which Rome had been compelled to check. The great fire in Rome, 64 A.D. (§ 458 5), first brought the Christians to general notice, and gave occasion for the first important mention of them by a pagan historian. The origin of the fire, says Tacitus, was charged [probably by the Jews] upon the new sect, —

"Whom the vulgar call Christians, and who were already branded with deserved infamy. Christus, from whom the name was derived, was executed when Tiberius was imperator, by Pontius Pilate, the procurator in Judea. But the *pernicious superstition*, checked for the time, again broke out, not only in its first home, but even in Rome, the meeting place of all horrible and immoral practices from all parts of the world."

Tacitus plainly does not think the charge of incendiarism proven, but he rather approves the punishment of these "haters of the human race." Nero was glad to satisfy the rage of the Roman populace by sacrificing such victims, and numbers were put to death with fiendish tortures. Some were wrapped in skins of wild beasts to be torn by dogs; others were tarred with pitch and used as torches to illuminate the revels in Nero's gardens. The punishment, however, was not in name or fact a religious persecution proper, and it was of course confined to the city of Rome.[2]

Fifty years later, Pliny was a provincial governor under

[1] On the church at Rome, see Fisher's *Beginnings*, 520–533; *Pennsylvania Reprints*, IV. No. 1; Farrar's *Darkness and Dawn* (a novel).

[2] Ramsay, ch. xi.; Renan in the *Hibbert Lectures*, 1880, Second Lecture, 70–100; Milman, II. 35–39; Hardy; Fisher; Capes; Bury.

Trajan. He wrote to Rome for instructions. Many persons in his province were accused by the people, sometimes anonymously, of belonging to the "deplorable superstition" of the Christians. Such men, it was charged, were guilty of immoral practices, and also brought down the anger of the gods upon the state since they would not sacrifice to its gods. Pliny had investigated and had found that they lived pure, simple lives, but that they refused with "immovable obstinacy" to sacrifice to the Roman gods. This, he thought, deserved death, and some he had condemned; but the numbers of such offenders were so great, and they came forward so readily, that he was embarrassed. Trajan instructed him not to seek them out, and not to receive anonymous accusations, but added that if they were brought before him and then refused to sacrifice, they must be punished.[1]

508. Causes of the Persecutions. — From these letters two things appear: (*a*) the populace hated the Christians as they did not hate the adherents of other strange religions, and pressed the government to persecute them; (*b*) the best rulers, though deploring the bloodshed, thought it proper and right to punish the Christians with death.

These facts can be partly explained. (*a*) Rome tolerated and supported all religions, but she expected all her populations also to tolerate and support the state religion. The Christians alone not only refused to do so, but declared war upon it as sinful and idolatrous. To the populace this seemed to challenge the wrath of the gods; and to enlightened men it seemed to indicate at least a treasonable temper. (*b*) All secret societies were feared and forbidden by the Empire on political grounds. The Church was a vast, highly organized, widely diffused, secret society, and "as such, was not only distinctly illegal, but in the highest degree was calculated to excite the apprehension of the government." (*c*) The attitude of the

[1] Read the correspondence in Fling's *Studies*, 140–143, or in Bury, 446–448. See, too, *Pennsylvania Reprints*, IV. p. 10; Ramsay, 196–225.

Christians toward society added to their unpopularity. Many of them refused on religious grounds to join the legions, or to fight, if conscripted. This again seemed a dangerous and inexplicable treason, inasmuch as a prime duty of the Roman world was to repel barbarism. Then the Christians were unsocial; they abstained from most public amusements, and refused to illuminate their houses or garland their portals in honor of national triumphs.

Thus we have religious and social motives with the people, and a political motive with statesmen. It follows that the periods of persecution often came under those emperors who had the highest conception of duty.

509. A Survey of the Attitude of the Government. — The first century, except for the horrors in Rome under Nero, afforded no persecution until its very close. In 95 A.D. there was a persecution, not very severe and lasting only a few months. Under Trajan we see spasmodic local persecutions arising from popular hatred, but not instigated by the government. Hadrian and Antoninus Pius strove to repress popular outbreaks against the Christians. Aurelius, in the latter part of his reign, permitted a persecution. On the whole, the second century was a time when the Christians were theoretically outlawed, but when there were only a few enforcements of the law against them, and those local.[1]

The third century was an age of threatened anarchy in government, and, as we shall see, of decline in prosperity. The few able rulers strove strenuously to restore society, and this century accordingly was an age of definitely planned, imperial persecution. Says George Burton Adams: "There was really no alternative for men like Decius, and Valerian, and Diocletian. Christianity was a vast organized defiance of law." No restoration of earlier Roman conditions, such as the reformers hoped for, could be possible unless this sect was overcome. But by

[1] On the slight nature of the persecution before Decius, 249 A.D., see Lecky, I. 443–445; Curteis, *Roman Empire*, 20–30.

this time Christianity was too strong. It had come to count nobles and rulers in its ranks. At the opening of the fourth century A.D., the keen Constantine saw the advantage to be gained by enlisting this force upon his side in the civil wars, and the era of persecution by the pagans ceased forever.

510. Summary. — (*a*) The persecution of the Church by the best emperors becomes explicable. (*b*) It was not of such a character as to seriously endanger a vital faith. (*c*) It did give rise to multitudes of heroic martyrdoms of strong men and weak maidens, which make a glorious page in human history, and which by their effect upon contemporaries justify the saying, "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church."[1] (*d*) The moral results of Christianity were so far most apparent in the social life of the lower classes in the cities. The effect upon legislation and government was to begin in the fourth century A.D.

For Further Reading on the Persecutions. — There are a few excellent pages on the persecution by good emperors in Matthew Arnold's *Essays in Criticism*, First Series (essay on *Marcus Aurelius*), 359–363. The causes and extent of persecution are summarized in Ramsay, ch. xv.; chs. x.–xiv. give its history in the first two centuries. The attitude of the imperial government is discussed in Watson's *Aurelius*, ch. vii.; Capes' *Antonines*, ch. vi.; Carr, ch. ii.; Ulhorn, 282–297. A lengthy treatment will be found in Milman, bk. ii. ch. ix., and in Lecky, I. 398–468. A valuable brief statement in Curteis' *Roman Empire*, 20–30. See also Church's *To the Lions* and Newman's *Callista* (novels).

V. THE THIRD CENTURY — GENERAL DECLINE.[2]

511. Renewal of Barbarian Attacks. — For two centuries the task of the legions had been comparatively easy, but in the reign of the peaceful Marcus Aurelius the torrent of barbarian

[1] Special report: stories of famous early martyrs; the persecutions of Decius and of Diocletian.

[2] Most of the preceding topics in this chapter have been treated only to about 200 A.D. In some cases — imperial organization, lists of emperors, and Christianity — it was more convenient to cover the three centuries.

invasion began to beat again upon the ramparts of civilization. The Moorish tribes were on the move in Africa; the Parthians, whom Trajan had humbled, again menaced the Euphrates; and Tartars, Slavs, Finns, and Germans burst upon the Danube. Aurelius gave the years of his reign to campaigns on the frontier.[1] For the time, indeed, Rome beat off the attack; but from this date she stood always on the defensive, with exhaustless swarms of fresh enemies ever surging about her defenses; and after the great and prosperous reigns of Septimus and Alexander Severus (§ 461) they began to burst through for destructive raids. Early in the third century the Parthian Empire dissolved, only to give way to a more formidable renewed Persian kingdom under the Sassanidae kings. This power for a time seemed the great danger. In 250 and 260 A.D., the Persians poured across the Euphrates. The emperor Valerian was defeated and taken prisoner, and Antioch was captured. New German tribes, too, — the mightier foe, as events were to prove, — had appeared on the European frontier: the *Alemanni* crossed the Rhine and maintained themselves in Gaul for two years (236–238 A.D.); in the disorders of the fifties, bands of *Franks* swept over Gaul and Spain; the *Goths* seized the province of Dacia, and raided the eastern European provinces. In the sixties, Gothic fleets, of five hundred sail, issuing from the Black Sea, ravaged the Mediterranean coasts, sacking Athens, Corinth, Argos, and Sparta. Claudius II. and Aurelian, however, restored the old frontiers, except for Dacia, and chastised the barbarians on all sides, and the worst of this evil was confined to the middle third of the century;[2] but a fatal blow had been struck at the prestige of Rome.

512. Political Decline. — The "barrack emperors of the third century" (§ 461) is the general name given by Hodgkin to

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[1] Chapters of the *Thoughts* were composed, as the date lines show, in camp in the mountains of Bohemia or Moravia against the Marcomanni (Markmen) and Quadi.

[2] Read a few pages in Hodgkin, I. 44–71.

the twenty-five rulers of this ninety years from Commodus to Diocletian. They were set up by the army, and all but four died by revolt (two of these four in war against Goths and Persians). The imperial power had become the sport and spoil of the legions, except for brief intervals when some strong ruler chanced to grasp the scepter. Sometimes the throne was actually auctioned to the highest bidder. In the sixties the Empire seemed to have split finally into petty fragments. But the age proved finally to have been only one of transition; in the next century, as we shall see, Diocletian and Constantine were to remove the causes of internal disorder and to introduce another long period of political calm.

513. Decline of Population and of Material Prosperity. — By the irony of fate, the reign of the best of emperors marks also another great calamity. In the year 166 a new Asiatic plague swept from the Euphrates to the Atlantic, carrying off, we are told, half the population.

From Aurelius to Aurelian, at brief intervals, the pestilence returned, to leave wide regions desolate and to demoralize industry and society. Those who recovered from the disease often showed a weakened energy, and the vitality of the Empire was fatally lowered. It takes vigorous, young societies a long time to recover from a single blow of this kind;[1] to the Roman Empire, the disaster was the more deadly because population had already become stationary, if it was not even on the decline.

The reasons for this are not altogether clear. The widespread slave system was no doubt one cause. The high standard of comfort, and consequent dislike for large families, as in modern France, was another. But these seem insufficient. It is hardly possible to charge the evil to immorality on a large scale, since the victory of Christianity does not seem to have checked it. Whatever the cause, the fact is beyond ques-

[1] It is said to have taken a century for England to recover from the effects of the Black Death in the thirteenth century.

tion; and so the gaps left by the pestilence remained unfilled. The fatal disease of the later Empire was want of men.[1]

514. Decay in Literature. — Great names in poetry, history, and science cease. Literature is no longer creative. Philosophy and theology become a dreary waste of controversy. We have multitudes of "Apologies" for Christianity from the Church Fathers (*Lactantius*, *Tertullian*, and *Origen* — all in Africa), and volume upon volume against them from the New Platonists, like *Plotinus* and his disciple *Porphyry* (Asiatics). Works on Christian doctrine and practice were written also by St. Clement (Alexandria) and St. Cyprian (Carthage).

The one advance is in Roman law (§ 500). This is the age of the great jurists, of whom *Ulpian* is the most famous.

515. General Summary. — At the same time, the century had many bright spots; and indeed the first third was, on the whole, one of the happy periods in human history. The gentle Alexander Severus in particular restored the glories of the age of the Antonines.[1] But after his murder by the rebellious legions, for the second third of the century, society as well as government seemed on the point of dissolution, as in the first century B.C. The soldier-emperor Aurelian (270–275 A.D. restored order while his strong hand held authority, and, ten years later, Diocletian began the reforms that were to save society for two hundred years more.

References for the Empire of the first three centuries. — Sources: Augustus' *Monumentum Ancyranum* ("The Deeds of Augustus") is important for the reign of the first emperor; it is a long inscription found on the walls of a temple in *Ancyra*, copied from a tablet set up by Augustus at Rome; translation in *Pennsylvania Reprints*, V. Tacitus covers the early period. Suetonius gives us the *Lives* of the first twelve Caesars.

Modern Authorities. — General survey: Capes' *Early Empire* and *The Age of the Antonines* (Epochs) and Bury's *Roman Empire* (Student's

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[1] Read Seeley's *Roman Imperialism*, 53–64.

[2] Special report; see Gibbon, in particular.

Series), to 180 A.D., fill the period between Mommsen and Gibbon. Gibbon (chs. iv.–xii.) remains the great guide for the third century. Pelham covers the whole period in brief. Merivale's seven volumes on *The Romans under the Empire* may be consulted; vols. iii.–vii. cover the ground from Mommsen to Gibbon. The third century is not attractive, and writers on the Early Empire show a disposition to stop with the Antonines, while treatments of the later period usually begin with Diocletian. Hodgkin, I. 5–16, has an excellent summary from Augustus to Diocletian.

On society: Inge, *Society in Rome;* Lecky, *European Morals*, chs. ii. iii. (for advanced students); Thomas, *Roman Life.*

On Christianity: All the authorities above and those given at the close of Division III. Advanced students will find matter in Fisher, Milman, Ramsay, Hardy, Alzog, Sheldon, and Renan.

CHAPTER III.

THE EMPIRE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY: DIOCLETIAN TO THEODOSIUS.

I. OUTLINE OF REIGNS AND EVENTS.

(For Reference and Review.)

516. Diocletian to Constantine. — *Diocletian* (284–305 A.D.) reorganized the government, established firm peace on all frontiers, and toward the close of his reign carried on the most terrible and thorough persecution of the Christians. In 305 A.D. he and his associate Maximian abdicated.[1]

There followed eight years of civil war between six rivals, and several years more of joint rule between Constantine and Licinius. Then for fourteen years, to 337, *Constantine* ruled as sole emperor. He made Christianity the favored religion of the empire, and he built at Byzantium his new Christian capital, Constantinople.

517. From Constantine to the Division of the Empire under Valentinian. — Constantine's three sons succeeded him; they massacred many relatives in Oriental manner, and warred among themselves until the empire was again united under one of them, Constantius.

He was succeeded in 361 A.D. by his cousin, the moral, robust *Julian*, known as "the Apostate." Julian tried to restore pagan worship and to reform the corrupt court, but, after two years, fell in battle against the Persians (363 A.D.). An officer, Jovian, was elected emperor in the camp, and on his death a few months later, the officers, with the approval of the army, chose the vigorous Valentinian to succeed him. Valentinian restored the system of joint emperors.

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[1] When pressed afterward to assume the government again, Diocletian wrote from his rural retreat: "Could you come here and see the vegetables that I raise in my garden with my own hands, you would no more talk to me of empire."

518. Valentinian to Theodosius: the Last "Partnership" Emperors. —

- Valentinian I., 364–375. — (West.) Associates his brother, the weak Valens, in the government.
- Valens, 364–378. — (East.) Falls in battle (*Adrianople*, § 562) against the *Goths*, who (*376 A.D.*) now break over the Danube permanently.
- Gratian, 375–383. — (West.) Half-brothers, sons of Valentinian I. Valentinian II., a minor; Gratian the real ruler. On the death of his uncle Valens, he invests an exiled general, Theodosius, with the Eastern Empire.
- Valentinian II., 375–392. — (West.) Half-brothers, sons of Valentinian I. Valentinian II., a minor; Gratian the real ruler. On the death of his uncle Valens, he invests an exiled general, Theodosius, with the Eastern Empire.
- **Theodosius I.**, 379–395, known as *Theodosius the Great.* — (East, 379–383.) Quiets the Goths; succeeds to the real authority in the West also after death of Gratian.
  392–395, sole emperor, even in name: the last real union of the whole empire under one ruler. Prohibits pagan worship.

519. Final Separation into Two Empires. — On the death of Theodosius the empire was again divided between his two sons, Arcadius (§ 573) and Honorius (§ 572). This marks the final separation, *in fact*, of the East from the West; after this, it is proper to speak of *two* Roman Empires. The eastern lasted for over a thousand years; the western began to crumble almost at once, and had disappeared as an empire within a century.

For Further Reading. — Pelham, 551–571; Gardner's *Julian*; Hodgkin, I. pts. i. and ii.; Gibbon. For the Gothic invasion, see § 562 ff.

II. RESTORATION AND REFORMS.

520. "Partnership Emperors" and Caesars: the Four Prefectures. — In 284 A.D. *Diocletian*, a stern and able soldier, became master of the empire, and at once set about its reform. His plans were carried out in greater detail by *Constantine* (306–337 A.D.). The work of the two should be treated together.

Diocletian introduced the system of "partnership emperors."

THE ROMAN EMPIRE
DIVIDED INTO
PREFECTURES AND DIOCESES.
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
5 Longitude West 0 5 10 15 Longitude
ATLANTIC OCEAN
WALL OF HADRIAN
Eboracum (York)
BRITAIN
Londinium
Saxons
Franks
GERMANY
Elbe R.
Burgundians
Trevori
Parisii
Chalons
Alamanni
D. OF GAUL
Mediolanum (Milan)
Verona
Aquileia
Ravenna
Arelate
Narbo
Massilia
ROMA
Corduba
Gades
MEDITERRA
Carthago
PREFECTURE OF AFRICA
20 15 0 5 10 15
50 45 40 35 30 25

25
30
35
40
45
50
55
60
45
40
35
30
25
Volga R.
CASPIAN SEA
Chersonesus
BLACK SEA
Danube R.
Constantinople
Adrianople
Thessalonica
Nicæa
Edessa
Antiochia
Berytus
Tyre
Ptolemais
Cæsarea
Palmyra
Euphrates R.
Cyrene
Alexandria
RED SEA
Nile
from Greenwich
ENGRAVED BY BORMAY & CO., N.Y.

There were now to be two *Augusti*, one with his capital in the East at Nicea, the other at Milan. Each was to associate with him a *Caesar*, as assistant and probable successor. The empire was marked off into four great sections, each under the immediate supervision of one of the four rulers.

This was not a *partition* of the empire, however. It was only a division of the burden of administration. The power of each emperor in theory extended over the whole empire. Edicts in any part were published under their joint names. The rulers were designed to act in harmony, and for much of the following century they did so.

521. A Complex Hierarchy Appears. — The whole administration was organized into a systematic hierarchy. The following table shows the grouping of administrative units: —

	Prefectures.	*Dioceses.*		
The East.	East.	East.	One hundred and twenty *Provinces.*[1]	Countless *Municipalities.*
		Egypt.		
		Asia Minor.		
		Pontus.		
		Thrace.		
	Illyricum.	Macedonia and Greece.		
		Dacia.		
The West.	Italy.	Italy.		
		Africa.		
		Illyria.		
	Gaul.	Spain.		
		The Gauls.		
		Britain.		

Before this time the governors of provinces had stood directly below the emperor. Now the forty provinces were subdivided into some one hundred and twenty. These were then grouped

[1] A table of provinces is given in Bury's *Later Roman Empire*, I. xv.–xix., and in Bury's edition of Gibbon, II. 550 ff.

into a dozen *dioceses*, each under a governor of higher rank, to sift all matters that came up from the governors of provinces. The dioceses were again grouped into the four great sections of the empire, called *prefectures*, and each of these, when not ruled by a Caesar or Augustus in person, was under a *prefect*, who sifted business once more, and sent up to the emperor only the more difficult or important matters.

522. Separation of Civil and Military Functions, and Other Military Reform. — The governors of provinces and dioceses, too, became purely civil functionaries. All military command was intrusted to distinct officers, immediately responsible to the emperor. The civil and the military powers were intended to watch and check each other. To provide further against military adventurers, the old legions were broken into small regiments — with less of corps spirit of course, and less possibility of concerted action. At the same time the imperial army was increased some fifty per cent — to about six hundred thousand men.

523. Growth of a Bureaucracy; the Heads developed from Ancient "Household" Offices. — A third change was directed to the same general end — to divide duties and to fix responsibilities more precisely. The freedmen of the emperor in the Early Empire had been intrusted often with great administrative power, but in an irregular manner. Now these "household officers" grew into state officers, each with a permanent department of government, and each the head of an extensive system.[1]

The more important heads were: (1) the *Great Chamberlain*,

[1] An excellent summary is given in Woodrow Wilson's *The State*, 135, 136, from which the next paragraph in the text is condensed; a fuller treatment is given in Guizot's *Civilization in France*. This growth of administrative offices is a good illustration of the way existing institutions and organs are adapted to new needs. Progress in government has been mainly by adaptation, not by invention. Out of a city government Rome developed a machinery to govern her wide dominions; and Imperial Rome developed her machinery out of the organization of the royal household. This last phenomenon has been repeated many times, as in the empire of Charlemagne and in medieval England.

originally the chief of those who served the emperor in his chamber; (2) the *Master of Offices*, like to a medieval Justiciar; (3) the *Quaestor*, an imperial chancellor; (4) a *Treasurer-General*, to oversee the provincial receivers of revenue; (5) the *Count of the Privy Revenue;* and (6 and 7) two *Counts of the Domestics*, — military commanders of the imperial household troops, cavalry and foot, — who correspond to medieval Constable and Master of Horse. This organization served as a model in Europe for many centuries, and has influenced the form of all modern cabinets.

Along with these changes at the court, went the multiplication of subordinate officials of all kinds throughout the provinces. Each of the departments of administration (bureaus) named just above, and many others not named here, were separately responsible to the emperor, but each was organized itself into a hierarchy of officials, responsible each grade to the one above.

524. Despotic Forms Assumed. — To secure to the imperial power greater stability and reverence, the *forms* of monarchy were now introduced, and the republican cloak of Augustus was discarded. Subjects prostrated themselves at the sovereign's feet. The emperor assumed a diadem, dazzled the multitude by the Oriental magnificence of his court, and fenced himself round with minute ceremonial and armies of functionaries. Despotism was at last avowed as a policy, and adorned with its characteristic trappings. The senate of Rome — the last of the republican institutions — ceased to take part in the government of the empire, and became only a city council.

525. General Result. — Significantly, like the reforms that had preserved the declining society of Caesar's day, all these changes also were in the direction of a more despotic organization (§ 441). The medicine had to be strengthened; soon its virtue would be exhausted. The essence of the changes lay in introducing a more minute *subdivision of the labor* of adminis-

tration by the multiplication of officials, and in making them *more closely responsible* to the despotic head by the establishment of a new gradation among them.

The result was a centralized, bureaucratic despotism. The government became a vast, highly complex machine, temporarily efficient in preserving order. For a time, indeed, it galvanized society into new life; but it pressed itself upon the masses with crushing weight, and the final collapse, when it came, was the more complete.

To this despotic organization we owe thanks, however, for putting off the catastrophe in Western Europe for two centuries more. In this time, Christianity won its battle over paganism, and Roman law took on a system that enabled it to live even under the approaching barbarian conquest. Except for the interval, these two greatest gifts of the empire could hardly have come to us in so vigorous a form.

For Further Reading. — Seeley's *Roman Imperialism*, 65–95; Gibbon, chs. xiii. xxvii.; Bury's *Later Roman Empire*, bk. i. ch. iv.; Arnold's *Provincial Administration*, 166–178.

III. EXCURSUS.

The Nature of Bureaucratic and Centralized Administration.

526. Absolutism and Centralization may be distinct. Absolutism refers to the *source of political power; i.e.* in a system of absolutism, supreme political power is in the hands of one person. Centralization refers to the *kind of administration.* A centralized administration is one carried on by a hierarchy or bureaucracy; *i.e.* a body of officials of many grades, all *appointed from above*, those of any one grade being *responsible to those just above them*, and finally to the supreme government. This form of government is found to-day in France (a republic) and in Russia (a despotism).

Thus absolutism and centralization do not necessarily go together. A government may emanate from the people and yet rule through a centralized administration. It may be absolute and yet allow decentralized

local agencies, as in the England of Henry VIII. or in Russia in past centuries. But absolutism is likely to develop centralized agencies, as Russia has been doing rapidly of late.

527. Centralization and Local Self-government Contrasted. — An efficient centralization under a great genius may temporarily confer great and rapid benefits, as in France under Napoleon the First. But the system always decays, and it does nothing to educate the people politically. Local self-government is often provokingly slow and faulty, but it is surer in the long run.

Toulmin-Smith's characterization should be pondered by every American student (*Local Government*, 12 and 20): —

"Local self-government is that system of government under which the greatest number of minds, knowing the most, and having the fullest opportunities of knowing it, about the special matter in hand, or having the greatest interest in its well-working, have the management of it.

"Centralization is that system of government under which the smallest number of minds, and those knowing least, and having fewest opportunities of knowing it, about the special matter in hand, and having the smallest interest in its well-working, have the management of it."

IV. THE CHURCH OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.

A. The Empire becomes Christian.

528. Constantine and his Motives.[1] — The great event of the fourth century A.D. is the victory of Christianity in the empire. The underlying causes, so far as history deals with them, have been touched upon. The immediate occasion was the shrewd statesmanship of Constantine the Great. Constantine was one of the contestants for the throne after the abdication of Diocletian (§ 516). We have no reason to suppose that he gave much thought to the truth of Christian doctrine, and we know that he did not practice Christian virtues; but he was astute enough to recognize the good policy of allying this new, rising power to himself against his persecuting rivals.

[1] Carr, ch. iv.; Ulhorn, 420–444; Schaff, III. 11–37; Alzog, I. 463–473.

The Christians still were less than one-tenth the population of the Empire. But they were energetic and enthusiastic; they were massed in the great cities which held the keys to political power; and they were admirably organized for rapid, concentrated action. Constantine may have seen, also, in a broader and unselfish way, the futility of trying to restore the old pagan world, and have felt it desirable to bring about harmony between the political government and this most powerful of single forces within the Empire, so as to utilize its strength instead of always combating it.

529. Christianity Tolerated and Favored. — At a critical moment in the civil war, Constantine issued the Edict of Milan: "We grant likewise to the Christians and to all others free choice to follow the mode of worship they may wish, that whatsoever divinity and celestial power may exist may be propitious to us and to all that live under our government."[1]

This ordained religious toleration. At a later time Constantine showed many special favors to the Church, as by grants of money for building, and by exempting the clergy from taxation (cf. § 483), but it is not correct to say that he made Christianity the state religion. At the most he seems to have given it a specially favored place among the religions of the Empire.

530. Persecution by the Church. — As a result of his favor, the indifferent masses passed over rapidly from the old religion to the new one, and before the end of the century paganism was rapidly dying out. The tendency is voiced in the following extract from Eusebius' *Life of Constantine* (II. 5), purporting to be the address of Licinius to his soldiers before the final conflict with Constantine.

"Friends and fellow-soldiers: These are our country's gods, and these we honor with a worship derived from our remote ancestors. But he who leads the army opposed to us has proven false to the religion of his fathers and has adopted atheistic sentiments, honoring, in his infatuation, some strange and unheard-of deity with whose despicable standard

[1] Translated in full in *Pennsylvania Reprints.*

he now disgraces the army, and confiding in whose aid he has taken up arms . . . not so much against us as against the gods he has forsaken. However, the present occasion shall decide . . . between our gods and those our adversaries profess to honor. For either it will declare the victory to be ours, and so most justly evince that our gods are the true helpers and saviors; or else if the god of Constantine, who comes we know not whence, shall prove superior to our deities . . . let no one henceforth doubt what god he ought to worship. But if our gods triumph, as they undoubtedly will, let us prosecute the war without delay against these despisers of the gods."

Unhappily, the Church at once began to use violence to stamp out the older religions. The Emperor Gratian allowed the orthodox Christians to prevent all worship by those Christian sects that the Church councils declared unorthodox, and the great Theodosius forbade all pagan worship. Thus Christianity became the sole recognized and legal religion. Heathen temples and idols were destroyed, schools of pagan philosophy were broken up,[1] and adherents to the old worship were punished with death.

This persecution by the Church, in centuries to come, was to dwarf into insignificance even the terrible persecutions it had suffered. The motive, too, differed widely from that of the old imperial persecution. It was not political, but theological, and so it began a new era. In general, each persecuting sect since has justified its action on the ground that belief in its particular faith was necessary to salvation, and that therefore it was right and merciful to torture the bodies of heretics in order to save their more precious souls, or other souls endangered by them. Under cover of such theory, there now began this dark and bloody chapter in human history — to last over twelve hundred years.

531. Effect of the Conversion of the Empire. — The conversion seems to have produced less improvement politically than we

[1] Special report: the story of the pure and noble Hypatia, of Alexandria. Read Kingsley's novel, *Hypatia*. See a terrible five-page summary of early persecutions by the Christians in Lecky, II. 191–195. The old religion survived longest in out-of-the-way corners; and so its adherents came to be described as *pagans*, or rustics. A similar fact caused the Christian Germans afterward to describe the same class among them in their speech as *heathens* (heath-dwellers).

should have expected. In general the Church fell in with the despotic tendencies of the times, so far as human government was concerned. So far as great social institutions or customs go, it mitigated slavery somewhat further; it made suicide a crime; it built up a vast and beneficent system of charity;[1] and it deserves almost sole credit for the rapid abolition of the gladiatorial games.[2] The deeper results, in the hearts of

HALL OF THE BATHS OF DIOCLETIAN: now the Church of St. Mary of the Angel.

individual men and women, history of course cannot trace directly.

But no event of this kind can operate in one direction only. The pagan world was converted at first more in form than in spirit, and it reacted upon Christianity. The victory was in part a compromise. The pagan Empire became Christian, but the Christian Church became, to some degree, imperial and pagan. The gain enormously exceeded the loss; but there

[1] Read Lecky, II. 79–98. [2] *Ib.* 36–38.

did take place, naturally and inevitably, a sweeping change from the earlier Christianity.

532. The Importance of the Victory of Christianity just at this time lies in the fact that Christianity was then able to conquer also the barbarians, who were soon to conquer the Empire. Freeman (*Chief Periods*, 67–68) calls the conversion of the Roman Empire the "leading fact in all history from that time onward," because, "where Rome led, all must follow." The barbarians, for the most part, became Christians *before* they became conquerors. Otherwise their conversion would have been more difficult, if not impossible.

B. Organization.[1]

533. Tendency to Monarchic Government and to a Hierarchic Organization. — Naturally, the government of the Church came to be modeled upon that of the Empire. It grew more and more monarchic in type, with gradations in rank and with geographical divisions corresponding to those of the civil state. Each city was the seat of a bishop, with authority over outlying parishes. The church of the chief city in a province was commonly the mother church of many other societies. From this and other causes, the bishop of the chief city gradually came to exercise great authority over the other bishops, and was known as a *metropolitan*, or archbishop. The next step was to exalt one of these metropolitans above the others in a diocese. This lot fell usually to the metropolitan in the chief city of the civil diocese. Thus the civil diocese became an ecclesiastical unit also, with its chief metropolitan, or *patriarch*, at its head. By degrees the East became divided essentially between the four patriarchs of Antioch, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Constantinople. The bishop, or metropolitan, of Rome held a like position for *all* the dioceses of the West — a fact due

[1] A good brief statement is found in Curteis, 36–38. Advanced students may consult Schaff, ch. x.; Alzog, I. 195–206; Sheldon, 239–259; Hatch, Lecture III.

partly, perhaps, to the circumstance that there were no other great cities in the West.[1]

To complete this movement — to make the Church a monarchy — would have required only to exalt one of these patriarchs over all the other four. This did not come to pass, although claims to such jurisdiction were made.

Thus from the Empire the Church borrowed the pomp and the admirable organization that enabled it to conquer the conquerors when the Empire itself fell. Says Freeman: —

"Before this Semitic faith could become the faith of Aryan Europe, its dogmas had to be defined by the subtlety of the Greek intellect, and its political organization had to be wrought into form by the undying genius of Roman rule." (Cf. § 3, note, and § 64, close.)

C. The Catholic Doctrine.

534. Definition of Doctrine and Rise of Heresies. — The early Christians had had no need to define their doctrines in nice detail, but gradually Greek speculative thought built up a system of theology. This, of course, brought out differences of opinion. In such disputes the opinions of the majority prevailed as the orthodox doctrine, and the views of the minority became heresy. The majority of these early heresies arose from different views as to the nature of the divinity of Christ.

535. The Arian Heresy: Council of Nicaea, 325 A.D. — The most important doctrinal dispute in the early centuries was the one leading to the Nicene Creed. *Arius*, a forceful priest of Alexandria, denied that Christ was equal to the Father. *Athanasius*, of the same city, became the foremost advocate of this equality. He held (1) that Christ is the son of God, (2) that he is the Saviour of the world, (3) that he is coëternal with God, and (4) that he is of the same substance with God. Arius denied the last two points. The struggle waxed fierce, and divided

[1] The term *diocese* in the West never had an ecclesiastical use corresponding to its civil meaning.

Christendom into opposite camps. But this would have destroyed the good results Constantine had hoped for from his recognition of the Church, and finally, to put an end to the controversy, he summoned the first Ecumenical Council.[1] This council met at Nicaea in Bithynia, in 325 A.D. The view of Athanasius was declared to be the orthodox doctrine, and Arianism was condemned as a heresy. It was, however, to play an important part in later history.

For Further Reading on the Church in the fourth century: Carr, 27–139; Kingsley's *Hermits;* Lecky, II.; Stanley's *Lectures on the Eastern Church;* Sheldon's *Early Church;* Newman's *Arians.* The canons and creeds adopted by the first four Ecumenical Councils are given in *Pennsylvania Reprints*, IV. No. 2.

For advanced students: Hatch's *Organization of the Early Churches;* Milman, bks. iii. iv.; Alzog; Schaff; Gibbon, chs. xv. xvii. Some further extracts from sources in *Pennsylvania Reprints*, V. The early Christian literature is translated largely in the *Bohn Library* or the *Ante-Nicene Library.*

Special Reports. — 1. Constantine's "conversion," and his life and character. 2. Julian's attempt to restore paganism. 3. Arius and Athanasius after 325 A.D. 4. Other heresies of the early centuries, especially Manichaeism and Gnosticism (and Church councils occasioned by them). 5. The Emperor Theodosius and Ambrose. 6. Hermits (see Lecky, II. 107–140, and Kingsley's *Hermits*). 7. The Bishop under the Empire, his life and work.

V. LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.

A. Authors and Works.

536. Theological Character of the Literature. — The great names in literature were almost all names of churchmen, and the writings were nearly all theological. In all other lines the period was one of intellectual decay. Poetry, science, and literature proper vanished.

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[1] Universal council, representing the whole Church. Synods for separate portions of the Empire had been held before, of course.

537. Pagan Writers.

Ammianus: an Asiatic Greek soldier; spirited continuation of Tacitus' history.

Eutropius: soldier; summary of Roman history.

Julian (emperor): memoirs of himself and a "Refutation" of Christianity.

538. Christian Writers.

Ambrose (Saint): Gallic Roman; lawyer and counselor; bishop of Milan; disciplined the Emperor Theodosius; wrote letters, sermons, hymns.

Anthony (Saint): Egyptian; hermit; letters.

Arius and *Athanasius* (§ 535).

Augustine (Saint): Numidian; bishop of Hippo; letters, commentaries, sermons, theological works; *Confessions* and *The City of God.*

Basil (Saint): }
Chrysostom (Saint): orator } theological works.

Eusebius: bishop; ecclesiastical history.

Jerome (Saint): Pannonian; Syrian hermit; translated the Bible into Latin (the *Vulgate*); controversial works.

Martin (Saint): soldier, monk; bishop of Tours; established first monastery in Gaul (famous for its beautiful manuscripts).

Ulfilas: Gothic hostage; became bishop and missionary among his people; converted them to *Arianism;* arranged a Gothic alphabet and translated the Bible into Gothic (the oldest literary work in a Teutonic language; a copy in silver letters upon scarlet parchment is preserved in the library of Upsala University).

B. Decline in Learning.

539. Attitude of the Church toward Pagan Learning.—The noblest movements have commonly carried some evils with them. One cause for the intellectual decline is that the Christian Church was hostile to all the old pagan science, while for centuries it developed little of its own. It was also hostile of course to the pagan literature, with its stories (often immoral) of gods and demigods. The Christians had not even attended the public schools until they came to dominate them in this century, and after this the schools rapidly deteriorated. That

the Church should have *feared* both the charm and the contamination of the old pagan poetry it is possible for us to understand; its *contempt* for pagan literature and science had less excuse, and savored more of mere ignorance and bigotry.[1]

540. A Few Illustrations of this feeling may be given. The Apostolical Constitutions (350 A.D.) contain the injunction: —

"Refrain from all the writings of the heathens; for what hast thou to do with strange discourses, laws, or false prophets, which in truth turn aside from the faith those who are weak in understanding? For if thou wilt explore history, thou hast the Books of the Kings; or seekest thou for words of wisdom and eloquence, thou hast the Prophets, Job, and the Book of Proverbs, wherein thou shalt find a more perfect knowledge of all eloquence and wisdom, for they are the voice of the Lord, the only wise God. Or dost thou long for tuneful strains, thou hast the Psalms; or to explore the origin of things, thou hast the Book of Genesis; or for customs and observances, thou hast the excellent law of the Lord God. Wherefore abstain scrupulously from all strange and devilish books." — Quoted by Mullinger, *Schools of Charles the Great*, 8.

The Fourth Council of Carthage (398 A.D.) formally forbade the reading of secular books by bishops. St. Jerome forbade all Christians to read them, and rejoiced in the growing neglect of Plato and Aristotle. Many of the early Fathers were themselves learned pagans before they became Christians, and could afford this tone better than could the rising generation to whom they spoke. Eusebius exclaims, "It is not through ignorance of the things admired by philosophy, but through contempt of them, that we think so little of these matters, turning our souls to the exercise of better things." Some unfortunate results appeared very early. The spherical form of the earth, for instance, was a well-known fact in Greek science (§ 259); but the early Fathers demolished the idea for the Christian world by theological arguments. "It is

[1] The attitude was somewhat like that of the Puritans of the seventeenth century toward the plays of Shakspere and his fellow-dramatists; but in the third and fourth centuries the result was more disastrous, because then *all* literature and science were pagan, and so banned.

impossible," said St. Augustine, "there should be inhabitants on the other side of the earth, since no such race is recorded in Scripture among the descendants of Adam." Many argued in like tone that Scripture gave no warrant for the sphericity of the earth, and that therefore it could not be; "besides," some of them added, "if the earth were round, how could all men see Christ at his coming?" Lactantius, the "Christian Cicero" (§ 514), speaks of the doctrine in these words: —

"Is it possible men can believe that the crops and trees on the other side of the earth hang downwards, and that men have their feet higher than their heads? If you ask them how they defend these monstrosities, how things do not fall away from the earth on that side, they reply that the nature of things is such that heavy bodies tend toward the center, while light bodies, as clouds, fire, and smoke, tend from the center to the heavens on all sides. Now I am really at a loss what to say of those who, when they have once gone wrong, steadily persist in their folly, and defend one absurd position by another."

541. Persecution of Learning. — Unhappily the Church was not content to enjoin ignorance upon the faithful as a religious duty. It turned to active persecution. At Alexandria, with the consent of the Emperor Theodosius, the savage monks burned the Serapion (the temple of Serapis), in which at this time were the great library and the delicate astronomical instruments that had been used by the Alexandrian astronomers.[1] Soon after (414 A.D.) came the horrible murder of Hypatia by the monks, and the final suppression of Alexandrian science.

[1] This is the library which the Mohammedans have been accused of burning, some three centuries later, on the excuse that if the books contained only what was in the Koran they were unnecessary, and if they contained anything else they were false. Unfortunately, this story seems to represent not so unfairly the attitude of the early Church toward science and the Bible. (Bury, however, holds that the burning of the books at the time of the destruction of the Serapion is not proven; Bury's Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, III. 199–201, Appendix 11, p. 495.) Two hundred years later, Pope Gregory the Great, who was wont to insist on the maxim that "ignorance is the mother of devotion," expelled all mathematical studies from Rome, forbade the classics, and burned the great *Atheneum library* founded by Augustus.

542. The Result. — The complete extinction of the old schools was not to come until the general cataclysm that followed the barbarian invasions in the next century; but it is undoubtedly true that those institutions were already being destroyed, or replaced by schools of infinitely lower character, for theological training only.

There is some consolation, perhaps, in the fact that the schools and Greek learning had already begun to decline in the third century (before the triumph of Christianity) along with the general decay in the Roman world; and it is possible to look upon their complete overthrow as a necessary step in the erection, centuries later, of a higher and nobler educational system. We shall have occasion, too, to notice that for centuries after the barbarian invasions the monasteries were the sole refuge of learning in the West. None the less it is shirking the facts not to recognize this hostile and bigoted attitude of the early Church as one of the leading factors in the decline of Romano-Greek science and letters.

For Further Reading. — Laurie, *Rise of Universities*, 19–27; Mullinger, *Schools of Charles the Great* (early pages); Draper, I. 314–325 and 357; Compayré, *History of Pedagogy*, 62–64; West, *Alcuin*, 9–21.

VI. SOCIETY IN THE FOURTH CENTURY.

A. Introductory Survey.

543. Growing Exhaustion of the Empire. — The three quarters of a century after the reunion of the Empire under Constantine were marked by a fair degree of outward prosperity, despite several brief wars for the throne. But the secret forces that were sapping the strength of society continued to work ceaselessly, and early in the coming century the Empire was to crumble under barbarian attacks. These inroads themselves will be treated farther on. We may notice now that they were at least no more formidable than those the Empire had so often rebuffed. Apparently, indeed, they were weaker. The barbarians, then, are not to be considered as the chief cause of the

"Fall." Those causes were internal. But when an empire is overthrown from internal causes, it is usually either by *national revolt* or by the *personal rebellion of satraps*. Not so the Roman Empire. The subject peoples had no desire to rebel, and the reforms of Diocletian guarded against rebellion by governors. The Roman Empire was overthrown from without by an ordinary attack, *because it had grown weak within and had become a mere shell*. This was not due, in any marked degree at least, to decline in discipline or bravery. The Roman army kept its superb organization, and to the last was so strong in its moral superiority that it was ready to face any odds unflinchingly.[1] But more and more it became impossible to find men to fill the legions, or money to pay them. Dearth of men and money was the cause of the fall of the state.

544. The Causes Political and Social rather than Moral. — The older writers explained the decay on moral grounds. Recent scholars are at one in recognizing, first, that the moral decay of society has been greatly exaggerated, and, secondly, that such decay operates only indirectly anyway upon a political society. The immediate causes seem to have been political and economic, especially the latter.[2]

B. Classes.

545. General View. — To understand ever so faintly the causes of the decay of population and wealth, we must see more clearly the make-up of Roman society. At the top of the social system was the emperor, to direct the machinery of government. At the bottom were the peasantry and artisans, the producers of food and of wherewithal to pay taxes. Between these two

[1] Read Dill, 288–291, for examples, and see a quotation from the stout soldier *Ammianus*, in Sheppard, 139–141.

[2] On the exaggeration of the moral decline, read Dill, bks. ii. and iii. (especially pp. 115–131 and 227–228); Seeley, especially 54–64: and Adams, 79–81. Kingsley, Lecture II., *Roman and Teuton*, gives graphic statement of the older but rather unhistorical view. If read, it should be corrected by Dill's treatment of the same authorities.

extremes were two aristocracies, — the senatorial nobility and the curials, or civic nobility.

546. The Senatorial Nobility now included large numbers who never sat in the senate either at Rome or Constantinople. All high officials and the higher clergy belonged to this class. It had swallowed up the old senatorial class of Rome, and most of the knights. It was a nobility of office, hereditary for two or three generations; but if a family kept its rank it must furnish new imperial officials from time to time.[1] Its privileges consisted: (1) in its dignity; (2) in the fact that a member was a citizen of the whole Empire, not of one municipality only; and (3) in exemption from *municipal* taxes. Its burdens lay in heavy forms of imperial taxes, both direct and indirect. A noble might at any moment be called upon for ruinous expenses[2] at the capital, or to assume some costly office at a distant frontier. But of course only a few were actually so burdened, and the lot of the majority was enviable.

547. The Curials.[3] — Below the imperial nobility was a local nobility. Each city had its senate, or *curia*. The curials were exempted from conscription and corporal punishment, and they had the management of the local finances; but they were liable for deficits and for many burdensome duties in connection with the corn supply and poor-relief. Those who rose to the higher magistracies had also to bear extravagant municipal expenses in providing festivals and shows. More crushing, however, were the imperial burdens. The curials became the collectors of the imperial land tax in their respective municipalities, and were made personally responsible for any deficit. The needs of the Empire caused the amount to be increased steadily, while the ability to pay, and the number of curials, as steadily decreased.

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[1] The principle seems to have been not unlike that of the modern Russian nobility. Advanced students may refer to Leroy-Beaulieu's *Tsars and the Russians*, I. bk. vi.

[2] Dill, 249; Bury's *Later Empire*, 37–42.

[3] Dill, 250–262 (excellent); Hodgkin, II. 585 ff.; Bury.

To secure this security for the revenue, the curials also were made an hereditary class and were bound to their function. They were forbidden to enter the Church, the army, or the law, to remove from their city, or even to travel without special permission. Various emperors in their legislation refer to the curials as the "sinews of the commonwealth," and strenuous attempts were made to reënforce their numbers. Between them and the laborers came a small middle class of petty traders, small landowners, and professional men. When any one of these acquired a certain amount of land, he was compelled by law to become a curial; but the general drift, as we shall note in the next sections, was for the small landowners to sink rather than rise, and they could furnish few recruits to fill the gaps.

A place in the senate of his city had once been the highest ambition of a wealthy non-noble citizen; but in the fourth century it had become almost an act of heroism to assume the duty. A story is told that, when in a Spanish municipality a public-spirited man voluntarily offered himself for a vacancy, his fellow-citizens erected a statue in his honor. In the growing exhaustion of the Empire, the position became more and more unendurable, until to the natural decrease in its numbers there were added desperate attempts to escape at any sacrifice. Of course the desirable escape was into the imperial nobility, but this was possible only to a few. Others, despite the prohibitions of legislation, sought refuge in the artisan guilds, in the Church, — or even in serfdom, in a servile marriage, or in flight to the barbarians.

548. The Artisans were grouped in guilds, or colleges, each with its own organization. Each member was bound to his guild, as the curial to his office.

549. The Peasantry had become serfs.[1] In the later days of the Republic, the system of great estates, which had blighted

[1] Arnold, 161–163; Bury, I. 28–32 and III. 418–421; Dill, 262–266. The teacher will see the need of guarding the students against thinking of serfdom as a result of the barbarian conquests and of the later feudalism.

Italy earlier (§§ 396–398), had begun to curse province after province outside Italy. Free labor disappeared before slave labor, or continued the conflict on unequal terms. As a result, grain culture declined and large areas went out of cultivation. To remedy this state of affairs in part, the emperors introduced a new system. After successful wars, they *gave* large numbers of barbarian captives to great landlords, — thousands in a batch, — not as slaves, but as *coloni*, or serfs. The purpose was to secure an hereditary agricultural class and so keep up the food supply. The coloni were really given *not to the landlord, but to the land.* They were not personal property, as slaves were. They were part of the real estate. They, and their children after them, were attached to the soil, and could not be sold off it. They had some civil rights, and could contract a legal marriage, as a slave could not. They had also some property rights. Each had his own plot of ground, of which he could not be dispossessed so long as he paid to the landlord a custom-fixed rent in labor and in produce.

Augustus began the system on a small scale in Italy, and it soon became a regular practice to so dispose of vanquished tribes. Of course this made it still more impossible for the free small-farmer to maintain himself. That class sank into serfs; but it had been on the high road to extinction anyway. On the other hand, the slaves *rose* into serfs, until nearly all cultivators of the soil were of this order. This institution of the Empire was to last for hundreds of years, under the name of serfdom, and it was to help make possible the transition from the ancient slave organization to the modern free-labor organization of industry. From the point of view of the slave, it was an immense gain. At the moment, however, it was one more factor in killing out the old middle class, in widening the gap between the noble classes and the small cultivators, and in making transition from class to class more impossible.

In the fourth century, too, the lot of these coloni had become miserable. They were crushed by imperial taxes, in addition to the rent due their landlord; and in Diocletian's time they

rose in Gaul against society, in the first of the series of Middle-Age *jacqueries,* to plunder, burn, and murder.

550. The Approach of a Caste System. — Thus society was crystallizing into castes. Not only had the peasantry become serfs, attached from generation to generation to the same plot of ground, but the principle of this rural serfdom was being applied to all social duties. The artisan was bound to his hereditary guild, and, just as truly, the curial and the noble each to his hereditary order. All freedom of movement seemed lost. Society as well as government was becoming despotic and Oriental.

C. Taxation.[1]

551. The Empire was "a great tax-gathering and barbarian-fighting machine." It collected taxes *in order* to fight barbarians. But the time came when the provincials began to dread the tax-collector more than the Goth. This was partly because of the decrease in ability to pay, and partly because the bureaucratic organization cost more and more. Says Goldwin Smith: "The earth swarmed with the consuming hierarchy of extortion, so that it was said that they who received taxes were more than they who paid them." The forms of taxation were manifold. The chief ones were the poll tax (paid mainly by the coloni), duties at the ports, legacy duties, taxes on sales of all kinds, and the land tax (which crushed the curials).

As in France before her great Revolution, so in the Empire, the upper classes secured release by law from some of their proper burdens, and succeeded by unfair assessment in shifting most of the rest on to the classes less able to pay.[2] Taxation yielded less; the revenue shrank up; and at the same time the wealth-producing power of society was being dried up by the unfair distribution of burdens and by the

[1] Dill, 266–281; Cunningham, *Western Civilization*, 182–195; Arnold, *passim*.

[2] Advanced students may read Taine's *Ancient Régime*, bk. v. ch. ii., for the comparison.

unproductive expenditure of the taxes that were drained from the land. The Empire suffered from a lack of wealth as well as from a lack of men.

D. Summary of the Decline.

552. Economic Causes have been dealt with at some length. To review: they fall chiefly under the heads of (*a*) decline of population, and (*b*) increase of taxation unwisely apportioned. Back of these conditions lay the absence of money,[1] the debasement of the coinage, the slave and caste system of society (see also § 513).

553. Political Causes. — "The benefits of despotism are short-lived; it poisons the very springs which it lays open. . . . And when once this better hour has passed away, all the vices of its nature break forth with redoubled violence, and weigh down society in every direction." — Guizot.

It is perhaps hard to blame despotism, since only despotism had saved society from an earlier overthrow (§§ 441, 521). But it is important to see that at last its medicinal value was exhausted, — and indeed that in the long run a bureaucratic despotism is always a weak government (cf. § 523).

This is from two causes: —

a. It lacks support in popular enthusiasm; the people care little whether they live under one government or another. When the Teutons broke into the Empire (§ 562 ff.), they were resisted only by the regular Roman legions, not by the provincials — except in Britain, which was less thoroughly Romanized. It seems probable that the secret of decay lay largely in the loss of political ideals and political enthusiasm.

b. The machinery itself gets beyond the control of the rulers. This was made plain in these days of Roman decline. There were many emperors of noble purpose and of fair ability who did their best to correct the evils of the age; but they were helpless against the universal indifference, or passive resistance,

[1] Cunningham's *Western Civilization*, 182–184.

or secret thwarting, of the whole body of nobles from whom the officials were drawn. The tone of the imperial laws waxes indignant or descends to urgent entreaty; but the purpose is hampered by a slow, negligent, or corrupt bureaucracy. The emperors had lost control of the vast machine, and in this most important respect government was reduced to a paralysis. Dill (*Roman Society*, 275–281), after a review of the efforts and failures of the emperors, says: —

"These are a few examples of the efforts of government to alleviate that mass of misery and social injustice which it was impotent to cure. To a sympathetic mind, there is no more painful reading than the Theodosian Code of the fifth century [§ 573]. The authors of these laws are generally loaded with the double opprobrium of weakness and corruption. 'The unfortunate are always to blame.' The system of bureaucratic despotism, elaborated finally by Diocletian and Constantine, produced a tragedy in the truest sense, such as history has seldom exhibited; in which, by an inexorable fate, the claims of fancied omnipotence ended in a humiliating paralysis of administration; in which determined effort to remedy social evils only aggravated them till they became unendurable; in which the best intentions of the central powers were, generation after generation, mocked and defeated alike by irresistible laws of human nature and by the hopeless perfidy and corruption in the servants of government."[1]

554. The Infusion of Barbarian Blood and Customs, before the Conquest. — The only measure that actually helped to fill the gaps in Roman population was the introduction of barbarians. It is hard to realize on how large a scale this took place. The Teutonic conquest of the fifth century found the Roman army composed of Germans, and whole provinces settled mainly by them, while that same people furnished the great officers of the Empire and made everywhere a large part of the slave and serf class.[2] This Germanization of the Empire, needful as it had been, helped of course to make later Germanic conquest easier. The wall of partition was lowered. The

[1] Special reports for advanced students: the *Constitutions* of Majorian, and his reign.

[2] Read Bury, I. 21–31; Adams' *Civilization*, 67; Dill, 291–298.

Germans within had a friendly leaning to those without. It led to a more rapid fusion of the two peoples and cultures, and lessened the agony of the change; but, in reviewing the causes of the fall of Rome, we must count this introduction of conquered barbarians as one of the active elements of disintegration.[1]

For Further Reading. — (In this chapter the references are given at the end of each section.) On the internal decay and the causes of the "Fall": Seeley's *Imperialism*, Lecture III.; Adams' *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, 76–88 (specially good); Bury, I. 25–36; Hodgkin, II. 532–613, and, if accessible, his article on *The Fall of the Roman Empire* in the *Contemporary Review*, January, 1898 (Mr. Hodgkin in this article does not even refer to moral causes); Dill, bk. iii.

REVIEW EXERCISE FOR PART V.

1. Add the dates 9, 14, 69, 180, 324 A.D. to the list.
2. Extend list of terms and names for fact drill.
3. Memorize a characterization of the centuries of the Empire; *i.e.*,—
   - First and second centuries: good government, — happy, peaceful, prosperous.
   - Third century: general decline, — material, political, and intellectual.
   - Fourth century: revival of imperial power; victory of Christianity.
   - Fifth and sixth centuries (in advance): barbarian invasions and conquests.
4. Review the growth of the Christian Church through the whole period.

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[1] Bury (I. 33–35) adds Christianity as a disintegrating factor — in no unfriendly spirit; and Hodgkin, a strong churchman, has an even more striking passage to the same effect. A good topic for special report by advanced students.

PART VI.

ROMANO-TEUTONIC EUROPE.

The settlement of the Teutonic tribes was not merely the introduction of a new set of ideas and institutions, . . . it was also the introduction of fresh blood and youthful mind — the muscle and brain which in the future were to do the larger share of the world's work. — GEORGE BURTON ADAMS.

CHAPTER I.

THE TEUTONS.

555. Early Home and Peoples. — The Rhine and the Danube separated the Roman world from the barbarian Germanic world — just as that line has continued to divide the Romance[1] nations from the modern German and Slav peoples. In the fifth century the Germans were to burst across these rivers and occupy the Western Empire. The region from which they swarmed lay between the Danube and the Baltic, north and south, and between the Rhine and the Vistula, east and west. The tribes that had roamed hither and thither in this region for centuries were known to themselves by no single name, but the Romans called them all Germans. In the fifth century the more important groups were the Goths, Burgundians, Vandals, Alemanni, Suevi, Lombards, Franks, and Saxons. The Norsemen were to appear later.

556. Stage of Culture. — As opposed to the Roman world, the Germans had a strong family likeness in character and institutions, but of course among themselves they showed wide dif-

[1] Of mingled Roman and Teutonic elements.

ferences.[1] The distant tribes were savage and unorganized. Those nearer the Empire had taken on more civilization and had moved toward a stronger political union, under the rule of great tribal kings; but in general they seem to have been little, if at all, above the level of the better North American Indians. They had no cities, but dwelt in palisaded villages, as the Iroquois did. They lived chiefly by hunting and fishing, and what little agriculture they had was managed by women or slaves. They had no true alphabet (except the Gothic, just invented by Ulfilas, § 538) and no literature, except rude ballads.[2] They had no money, and their trade was barter. Skins or rude cloths formed their clothing, but the nobler warriors possessed chain mail and wore helmets crested with plumes, horns, dragons, and other strange devices.

A Dolmen of the Ancient Germans.

557. Character. — Tacitus says of the Germans, as a whole: —

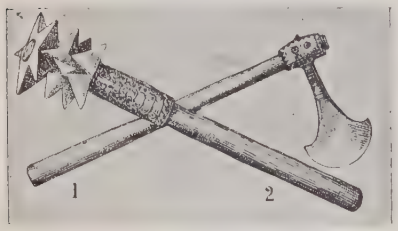
"They have stern blue eyes, ruddy hair, bodies large and robust, but powerful only in sudden efforts. They are impatient of toil and labor. Thirst and heat overcome them, but from the nature of their soil and climate they are proof against cold and hunger." — *Germania*, iv.

The usual marks of savagery were found among them. They were fierce, quarrelsome, hospitable. Their cold, damp forests had helped to make them excessive drunkards and immoderate eaters, and when not engaged in war they would spend day after day in sleep or gluttony. They were desperate gamblers, too, and, when other wealth was gone, they would stake even personal liberty upon the throw of the dice.

[1] Read Dill, 301, for illustrations.

[2] Special topic: the Runes.

At the same time, they do seem to have possessed some peculiar characteristics not common in savage races. Women were revered. Tacitus dwells upon the excellence of their family life. "The married state," he says, "is a life of affection, and it is kept pure." They reverenced truth and fidelity. Their grim joy in fighting rose to fierce delight in battle, and sometimes to a "Baersark" rage that knew no peril and made men insensible to wounds. In particular, the Germans possessed a proud spirit of personal liberty (in contrast with the classical devotion to the State), a "high, stern sense of manhood and the worth of man," which was to influence profoundly later European history.



Battle-ax and Mace. — Arms of Teutonic chieftains in an early period.

Another quality is even less tangible, but deeply important. The Germans resembled the Hebrews in a serious, earnest temperament, rising sometimes to an imaginative mysticism, which has made their Christianity differ widely from that of the clear-minded, methodic, sunnier peoples of Southern Europe. They felt the solemn mystery of life, with its shortness of days, its sorrows, and unsatisfied longings; and this inspired in them, not unmanly despair nor light recklessness, but a heroism tinged with melancholy. In the *Song of Beowulf*, an old poem that has come down to us from the German forests, the chieftain, about to go out to an almost hopeless encounter with a terrible dragon that had been destroying his people, exclaims: —

"Each man must abide the end of his life work; then let him that may work, work his doomed deeds ere night come."

And, again, as he sits by the dragon mound, victorious, but dying: —

"These fifty winters have I ruled this folk; lives there no folk-king of folk-kings about me — not any one of them — dare in the war-strife welcome my onset! Time's change and chances I have abided; held my own fairly; sought not to snare men; oath never sware I falsely against right. So, for all this, may I glad be at heart now, sick though I sit here, wounded with death-wounds!"

The same trait of mingled gloom and heroism is seen in a unique and striking feature of their religion (at least as it finally developed in Iceland). This was the belief in the "Twilight of the Gods." Heroes who had fought a good fight on earth were to reap their reward hereafter in fighting beside the gods, the powers of Light and Warmth, against the evil giants of Cold and Darkness; but in the end the gods and heroes were all to perish before the powers of evil: so that with these Teutons, says John Richard Green, "life was built, not on the hope of a hereafter, but on the proud self-consciousness of noble souls."

A story connected with the conversion of the Germans in Britain illustrates the same trait. The king of Northumbria sat among his chieftains, and the missionaries had just spoken. Then arose an aged chief: —

"O king, what is this life of man? Is it not as a sparrow's flight through the hall when one sits at meat of an evening in wintertide? Within is light and warmth and song; without, cold, darkness, and icy rain. Then the sparrow flies in at one door, tarries a moment in the warmth, and then, flying forth from the other door, vanishes again into the dark. Such, O king, seems the life of man; and if this new teaching can tell us aught certain of the time before and after, let us follow it."

558. Religion. — The old German religion was a rude polytheism, based on nature worship. The chief place was held by the worship of *Woden*, the war god and the god of their rude science. From him the noble families all claimed descent. *Thor*, whose hurling hammer caused the thunder, was the god of storms and of the air. *Freya* was the deity of joy and fruitfulness.[1]

[1] Compare with Greek deities, § 100. These Teutonic gods live still in our names for the days of the week. Woden's day, Thor's day, and Freya's day

The Saxons and Franks when they broke into the empire were still heathen. All the other tribes that settled in the empire in the fifth century had just become converts, in name at least, to Arian Christianity, through the labors of Arian exiles. (Cf. Ulfilas among the Goths, § 538.)

559. Political Organization. — Tacitus shows the Germans with three distinct orders of political units, — village, canton (or later "hundred"), and tribe. The village was originally no doubt the home of a clan. The village and the tribe each had its popular assembly with its hereditary chief. The tribal chief, or king, was surrounded by his council of smaller chiefs. To quote Tacitus: —

"In the election of kings they have regard to birth; in that of generals to valor. Their kings have not an absolute or unlimited power; and their generals command less through the force of authority than of example. If they are daring, adventurous, and conspicuous in action, they procure obedience from the admiration they inspire." — *Germania*, 7.

"On affairs of smaller moment, the chiefs consult; on those of greater importance, the whole community; yet with this circumstance, that what is referred to the decision of the people is first discussed by the chiefs. They assemble, unless upon some sudden emergency, on stated days, either at the new or full moon. When they all think fit, they sit down armed. Silence is proclaimed by the priests, who have on this occasion a coercive power. Then the king, or chief, and such others as are conspicuous for age, birth, military renown, or eloquence, are heard; and gain attention rather from *their ability to persuade, than their authority to command.* If a proposal displease, the assembly reject it by an inarticulate murmur; if it prove agreeable, they clash their javelins; for the most honorable expression of assent among them is the sound of arms. In the same assemblies, chiefs are also elected to administer justice through the cantons and districts. A hundred companions, chosen from the people, attend upon each of them, to assist them as well with their advice as their authority."[1] — *Ib.* 11, 12.

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are easily recognized in their modern dress. Tuesday and Saturday take their names from two obscurer gods, Tiw and Saetere, or the latter perhaps from the Latin Saturn, while the remaining two days of course are the Moon's day and the Sun's day.

[1] Cf. the early Greek political organization, §§ 92–95.

560. The "Companions." — One peculiar fact in social organization must be noted. A great chief was surrounded by a band of "companions," who lived in his household, ate at his table, and fought at his side; to them the chief gave food, weapons, and plunder; for the honor and safety of their "lord" they devoted their energies and lives. The element of personal loyalty in the institution of "companion" and lord was to influence the development of later European feudalism. The class in Germany itself seems to have been made up largely of outlaws or adventurers skilled in arms. It grew in importance, however, after the invasions, and finally was to develop into the nobility of much of later Europe (§ 611).

561. The Charm of the South. — The sunny south, with the wonders and riches of its strange civilization, fascinated these savages with a potent spell. For five hundred years they had been striving to enter in and possess it. The pressure of fiercer barbarians behind them and of their own increasing population had produced certain periods of special effort, and sometimes they had burst in for brief periods of plunder, but always hitherto to be driven out by some Marius, Caesar, Aurelius, Aurelian, Diocletian, or Julian. All this time, however, they had been *filtering* in as slaves, coloni, soldiers, and adventurers, and even by whole tribes as subjects or allies, until Western Europe was largely German in blood (§ 554); all this time, too, the wild Germans beyond the barriers were learning to unite into larger confederations, and to act together in their attacks. Now, about the year 400 A.D., in the exhaustion of the empire, they began at last to come in as conquerors.

For Further Reading. — Sources: Our two chief authorities for the early Germans are Caesar and Tacitus. Caesar drew his knowledge largely from the Gauls, and his treatment is provokingly brief (*Commentaries on the Gallic War*, bk. iv. chs. 1–3; and vi. chs. 21–24). Tacitus, in his *Germania*, treats them at length, but less as a skilled observer than as a moralist — to contrast their barbaric simplicity and

virtue with the vices of Roman civilization. Guernsey Jones' *Source Extracts — Civilization in the Middle Ages* — contains twenty pages of extracts from the *Germania* which should be accessible to every student.

Modern accounts: The three most readable treatments are the opening pages of Green's *English People*, Taine's *English Literature* (bk. i. ch. i. sections 1–3), and Kingsley's *Roman and Teuton*, 1–16 (*The Forest Children*). The last is idealized.

Gibbon, ch. ix., gives a famous discussion. Kingsley protests indignantly against Gibbon's view of the stage of Teutonic culture; but see Adams' *Civilization*, 7, 8. Advanced students will find the Teutonic spirit voiced nobly in William Morris' *Sigurd the Volsung*, and an admirable discussion of the political system in Stubbs' *Constitutional History of England*, chs. ii. and iii. Many of the works mentioned at the close of the next chapter will be found useful for more exhaustive study here.

CHAPTER II.

THE INVASIONS — FIFTH AND SIXTH CENTURIES.

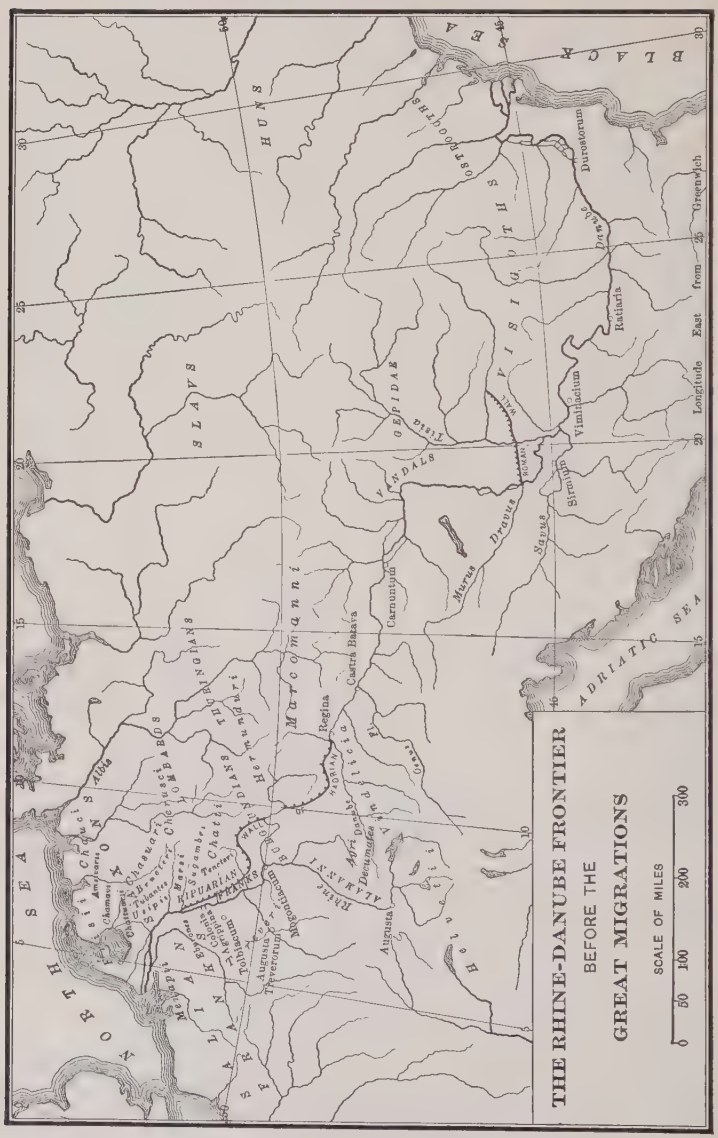
How can a man draw a picture of that which has no shape; or tell the order of absolute disorder? It is all . . . like the working of an ant-heap; like the insects devouring each other in a drop of water. Teuton tribes, Sclavonic tribes, Tartar tribes, Roman generals, empresses, bishops, courtiers, adventurers, appear for a moment out of the crowd, — dim phantoms, nothing more, most of them, with a name appended, — and then vanish, proving their humanity only by leaving behind them one more stain of blood. — CHARLES KINGSLEY.

I. THE BURSTING OF THE BARRIERS.

A. THE DANUBE (376 A.D.).

562. Admission of the West Goths into the Empire; Adrianople. — The event which we now recognize as the first step in the victory of the Teutons seemed to the Romans at the time only a continuation of an old successful policy of the empire. Many tribes had been admitted within the boundaries as allies and had proven faithful defenders of the frontiers. In 376 A.D. such a measure was repeated on a vast scale. The whole people of the West Goths (*Visigoths*), possibly a million souls, appeared on the Danube as fugitives from the more terrible Huns — wild, nomadic horsemen from Tartary, who were wasting southern Russia. Valens, emperor of the East, granted the prayers of the suppliants, allowed them to cross the Danube, and gave them lands south of the river.

They were to give up their arms, while Roman agents were to supply them food until the harvest. These agents embezzled the imperial funds and furnished vile and insuffi-


THE RHINE-DANUBE FRONTIER
BEFORE THE
GREAT MIGRATIONS
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300
NORTH SEA
BLACK SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
SLAVS
HUNS
OSTROGOTHS
VISIGOTHS
GEPIDAE
VANDALS
ROMAN WALL
Durostorum
Danube
Ratiaria
Viminacium
Sirmium
Savus
Dravus
Murus
Carnuntum
Castra Batava
Regina
Marcomanni
Hermunduri
THURINGIANS
LOMBARDS
Albis
Chauci
Chasuari
Chatti
Chatti
Tubantes
Usipi
Marsi
Sugambri
Tencteri
RIPUARIAN FRANKS
Colonia Agrippina
Tolbiacum
Augusta Treverorum
Mogontiacum
Augusta
Helvetii
Decumates
Rhine
ALAMANNI
Danube
Vindelicia
Genus Fl.
Tisia
Melapii
Ebyones
Chamavi
Amsivarii
Chattuarii
Chaucis
Frisii
Chaucis
Ancisii
Ancisii
Ancisii
Longitude East from Greenwich

cient food, while at the same time, for bribes, they allowed the barbarians to retain their arms. The Goths rose and marched on Constantinople. At *Adrianople* (378 A.D.) Valens was defeated and slain, and the victorious occupation of the empire began. The Goths ravaged the land up to the walls of the capital, but they could not storm a great city. The new emperor, Theodosius the Great (§ 526), finally pacified them, and they remained peaceful settlers for nearly twenty years.

563. Alaric: in Greece, Illyria, and Italy. — In 395, Theodosius died, and at once masses of the Goths rose under an ambitious young chieftain, Alaric, whom they soon made king of their nation. Alaric led his host into Greece, spared Athens for a heavy ransom, and sacked Corinth, Argos, Sparta, and all the Peloponnesus. Apparently he was trapped there by the gigantic Vandal, Stilicho, a general of Honorius, emperor of the West; but finally the Goth either bought or maneuvered his way out with all his plunder. He then extorted from Arcadius, the terrified emperor of the East, a commission as imperial lieutenant in Illyria and Greece; and, in Kingsley's phrase, "there he staid, somewhere about the head of the Adriatic, poised like an eagle in mid air, watching Rome on one side and Byzant on the other, uncertain for a while on which quarry he should swoop."

In 402, he made up his mind for Rome. Stilicho, the Roman shield, beat him off in two battles; and he drew back for a few years into Illyria. Meanwhile Stilicho turned upon and destroyed a more savage horde of two hundred thousand wilder Germans, who had poured down through the Alps under Radogast and were besieging Florence. But soon afterward Honorius, very possibly with good reason, suspected his general of plotting to seize the throne, and had him murdered. The deed was signal enough for Alaric to try Italy once more. This time he captured Rome; and then for five days and nights that proud city was given up to sack by the Goths (410 A.D.) —

just eight hundred years after its capture by Brennus and his Gauls.[1]

564. The Visigothic Kingdom in Spain. — Soon afterward, Alaric died in South Italy. His brother and successor, Ataulf, felt more strongly the spell of Roman civilization. He himself has stated his purpose: —

"It was at first my wish to destroy the Roman name, and erect in its place a Gothic empire, taking to myself the place and the powers of Caesar Augustus. But when experience taught me that the untamable barbarism of the Goths would not suffer them to live beneath the sway of law, . . . I chose the glory of renewing and maintaining by Gothic strength the fame of Rome, desiring to go down to posterity as the restorer of that Roman power which it was beyond my power to replace."

Ataulf married the emperor's sister, and accepted a commission to conquer certain German tribes that had meanwhile crossed the Rhine (§§ 565–567); and so the Goths left Italy, and set up a kingdom in Southern Gaul and Spain (414–419 A.D.). Gaul they were to lose in less than a century to other Germans (§ 590), but the Visigothic kingdom in Spain lasted three hundred years, to the Moorish conquest (§ 625), and its fragments were to grow together again through the Middle Ages into the Spain of to-day. The date 419 A.D. marks the establishment of the first permanent Teutonic state within the old Empire.

B. The Rhine.

565. The Barrier Bursts, 406 A.D. — Italy was now to have peace for a generation under puppet emperors and the German lieutenants behind the throne; but the Rhine frontier had already given way, between the two invasions of Italy by Alaric, and all the Western Empire outside Italy was quickly lost. Clouds of Germans had long been massing on the Rhine. In 406 A.D. they forced a passage, and then with little opposition spread themselves over the land. The leading peoples in the invasion were Burgundians, Vandals, and Suevi.

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[1] Read Dill, 303–314, for the moral effect of the capture of Rome.

THE MIGRATIONS
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400 500 600
GERMAN OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BRITAIN
ESSEX
KENT
JUTES
SAXONS
ANGLES
LOMBA
SUEVES
Weser
Elbe
Rhine
Cologne
Retreat
VANDALS
Trèves
Chalons
Paris
Loire
Orleans
EMPIRE
Strasbourg
BURGUNDIANS
GAUL
SUEVES
Toulouse
Arles
Rhone R.
Narbonne
VISIGOTHS
Florence
ADRIAT
Douro
Tagus
SPAIN
Barcelona
BALEARES IS.
Rome
Strait of Gades
Carthago Nova
MEDITERR
VANDALS
VANDALS 455
Carthage
VANDALS 439
VANDALS founded an Empire 439
Longitude East from G

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566. The Burgunds settled on the upper Rhine, where the name of their kingdom has always remained. A little later, under their king, *Gundobald*, they produced the earliest written code of Teutonic law. Like the Goths, too, they soon came to regard themselves, in a vague way, as living under the authority of the Empire. A Burgundian king, thanking the emperor for the title Patrician, writes: —

"My people is yours, and to rule them delights me less than to serve you. . . . Our ancestors have always preferred what an emperor gave to all their fathers could bequeath. In ruling our nation, we hold ourselves but your lieutenants: you, whose divinely appointed sway no barrier bounds, whose beams shine from the Bosphorus into distant Gaul, employ us to administer the remoter regions of your empire; your world is our Fatherland."

567. The Vandals and Suevi ravaged Gaul and settled in Spain (409 A.D.). In 414 the West Goths attacked them (§ 564); the Suevi remained in the northwest corner of the peninsula as subjects of the Gothic state; the Vandals, in 427, crossed to Africa, and, after ten years of warfare, set up a Teutonic kingdom there, with its capital at Carthage. These Vandals, whose name has become a synonym for wanton destructiveness, were the most untamable of all the Teutonic peoples. In Africa they soon became pirates, terrorizing the Mediterranean. In 455, they invaded Italy and sacked Rome in a way that made Alaric's capture seem merciful. A century later, however, the Vandal kingdom was overthrown by the imperial general Belisarius, and Africa was again added to the Eastern Empire (§ 583).

568. The Franks and Romans in North Gaul. — Another great German people, the Franks, had long had homes on both sides of the lower Rhine, from Cologne to the sea. They had been "allies" of Rome; but now they began to add to their territory by spreading themselves slowly over north Gaul. In the end they were to prove the most important of all the Teutonic invaders, but their real advance was not to begin until toward the close of the century (§ 587 ff.). Meantime, in northwestern

Gaul, a semblance of Roman authority was kept up by Roman generals, who were really independent sovereigns.

II. THE HUNS.

569. New Barbarian Races: the Turanian Huns. — The Roman world had already come in contact with Celts in Western Europe, Germans in the central parts, and Slavs (§§ 3 and 9) in the eastern. Behind these, and breaking through them, pressed a confused mass of ruder peoples, — Huns, Tartars, Finns, Avars (§ 562). These are all spoken of sometimes (with the Turks) as Turanians. The word does not express race-relationship, properly, but rather a stage of culture and of language. The various peoples comprehended under this name spoke languages in the "agglutinative" stage (like our Indians), — a stage which precedes inflected language, such as Romans, Greeks, Teutons, and Slavs spoke, — and some of these more savage peoples, too (Huns, Bulgars, Avars), do seem, from the physical descriptions left us, to have belonged to different stocks from the other European races. *The student must be careful not to confuse any of these, or the Slavs, with the Teutons.*

570. Châlons. — In the midst of the occupation of the empire by the Teutons, the conquerors and the decaying Roman world were menaced with common ruin. *Attila*, king of the Huns, had built up a vast military power, reaching from central Asia into central Europe, and now his terrible hordes swept into Gaul. It was his characteristic boast that grass never grew again where his horse's hoofs had trod. The fate of civilization hung trembling in the balance, while the great "battle of the nations" was fought out at Châlons (451 A.D.). Hun, Slav, Tartar, Finn, and the tributary Teutonic nations matched themselves against the Roman and the free Teutons (West Goth, Burgundian, and Frank). Even when so reënforced, the forces of civilization were insignificant before the innumerable host of Asiatic barbarians; but victory was won by the generalship of the Roman leader, the hero *Aëtius*. Attila is said to have lost from one hundred and sixty thousand to three hundred thousand men (greatly exaggerated numbers, no doubt); and with spent force his invasion rolled away to Italy and the East.

Even had the Huns won, they could hardly have held an empire together; and so this contest between savagery and civilization was perhaps less critical than a struggle between rival civilizations, as at Marathon or the Metaurus, or, later, at Tours (§ 625). But it is easy to make too much of this consideration. At that decisive moment the Teutons were still hesitating on the threshold of civilization, and a Roman defeat would have annihilated the championship of civilization in Western Europe. Under these conditions, even a brief Tartar domination might have wrought irreparable loss; and so, both for character and consequence, the battle of Châlons has always seized upon the imagination.

"That is the Hunnenschlacht; 'a battle,' as Jornandes calls it, 'atrox, multiplex, immane, pertinax.' Antiquity, he says, tells of nothing like it. No man who had lost that sight could say that he had seen aught worth seeing. A fight gigantic, supernatural in vastness and horror, and in the legends which still hang about the place. You may see one of them in Von Kaulbach's immortal design — the ghosts of the Huns and the ghosts of the Germans rising from their graves on the battle-night in every year, to fight it over again in the clouds, while the country far and wide trembles at their ghostly hurrah." — Kingsley, *Roman and Teuton*, 88.

"It was the perpetual question of history, the struggle told long ago by Herodotus, the struggle between Europe and Asia, the struggle between cosmos and chaos — the struggle between Aëtius and Attila. For Aëtius was the man who now stood in the breach, and sounded the Roman trumpet to call the nations to do battle for the hopes of humanity, and defend the cause of reason against the champions of brute force. The menace of that monstrous host which was preparing to pass the Rhine was to exterminate the civilization that had grown up for centuries . . . and to paralyze the beginnings of Teutonic life. . . .

"But the interests of the Teutons were more vitally concerned at this crisis than [even] the interests of the empire. . . . Their nascent civilization would have been crushed under the yoke of that servitude which blights, and they would not have been able to learn longer at the feet of Rome the arts of peace and culture." — Bury, I. 176.

571. Attila before Rome; Pope Leo. — The Huns turned upon defenceless Rome; but the great Pope Leo, by his personal intercession, worked the miracle of turning the Tartar from his prey. One ancient writer, indeed, hints that Attila's army was wasting under Italian fever and the harassing strategy of Aëtius, whose smaller forces hung upon its flanks. At all

events, Attila withdrew from Italy, to die shortly after. His empire fell to pieces, and the Teutons of Germany regained their freedom in another great battle, at Netad.

One curious result followed Attila's invasion of Italy. To escape the Huns, some of the ancient Veneti of northeast Italy took refuge among swampy islands at the head of the Adriatic, and so began a settlement destined to grow, in a later age, into the great republic of Venice.

III. ITALY AND THE EASTERN EMPIRE.

In the Fifth and Sixth Centuries (from Alaric to the Lombards).

"Taking one's stand at Rome, and looking toward the north, what does one see for nearly one hundred years? Wave after wave rising out of the north, the land of night, and wonder, and the terrible unknown; visible only as the light of Roman civilization strikes their crests, and they dash against the Alps, and roll over through the mountain passes, into the fertile plains below. Then at last they are seen but too well; and you discover that the waves are living men, women, and children, horses, dogs, and cattle, all rushing headlong into that great whirlpool of Italy: and yet the gulf is never full. The earth drinks up the blood; the bones decay into the fruitful soil; the very names and memories of whole tribes are washed away. And the result of an immigration which may be counted by hundreds of thousands is this — that all the land is waste."

—Kingsley, *Roman and Teuton*, 58.

A. Table of Emperors, to the Last Western Emperor.

572. Western Empire.	**573.** Eastern Empire.
Honorius, 395–423 A.D.	**Arcadius**, 395–408 A.D.
Stilicho, the Vandal, the real power; repulses Alaric; is suspected and murdered by Honorius (409 A.D.). Alaric's Goths sack Rome (410 A.D.). Final loss of most of Gaul and Spain to Burgundians, Goths, Suevi, and Franks (§§ 603–608).	
Valentinian III., 425–455 A.D.	**Theodosius II.**, 408–450 A.D.
Loss of Africa (Vandals). *Aëtius* (a German brought up among the Huns), now the imperial general, the real upholder	Theodosian Code, 438 A.D.

of the empire; saves part of Gaul; repulses Attila (*Châlons*, 451 A.D.); is murdered by Valentinian, who suspects him; Valentinian himself murdered by Roman senator, Maximus, whose home he has outraged.

Marcian, 450–457 A.D.

Maximus, 455 A.D.

Compels Eudoxia, widow of his victim, to marry him; she invites **Geiseric**, king of the Vandals, to avenge her; the Vandals cross from Carthage, **capture Rome**, sack it for fourteen days, and carry away the plunder of the world, much of it to sink in a storm in the Mediterranean (§ 607).

Count Rikimer, 456–472 A.D.

A German imperial general; sets up and deposes four puppet-emperors (*does*, at last, what Stilicho and Aëtius had been suspected of wanting to do).

Leo I., 457–474 A.D.

Orestes, 472–476 A.D.

Imperial general; deposes the reigning emperor and sets up his own son — **Romulus Augustulus**. (Note the advance upon Rikimer.) He is overthrown by Odovaker (next paragraph), and the West has no emperor again until 800 A.D.

Zeno, 474–491 A.D.

Reunites the empire *in name*.

B. Odovaker (Odoacer).

574. In 476, Odovaker, another German officer in imperial service, seized the power in Italy, slew Orestes, and sent the dethroned boy, Romulus Augustulus, to live in luxurious retirement in a villa near Naples. Odovaker was leader of the Heruli, a small German people, and his power in Italy rested on their support and on that of other German mercenaries. He represents an advance upon the policy of the earlier German officers of the century, who had ruled Italy at the head of imperial armies and through puppet emperors. But, after all, it is the same policy developed a little farther, and the date

476 A.D., which is sometimes said to mark the Fall of Rome, is only one in a series, and neither first nor last.

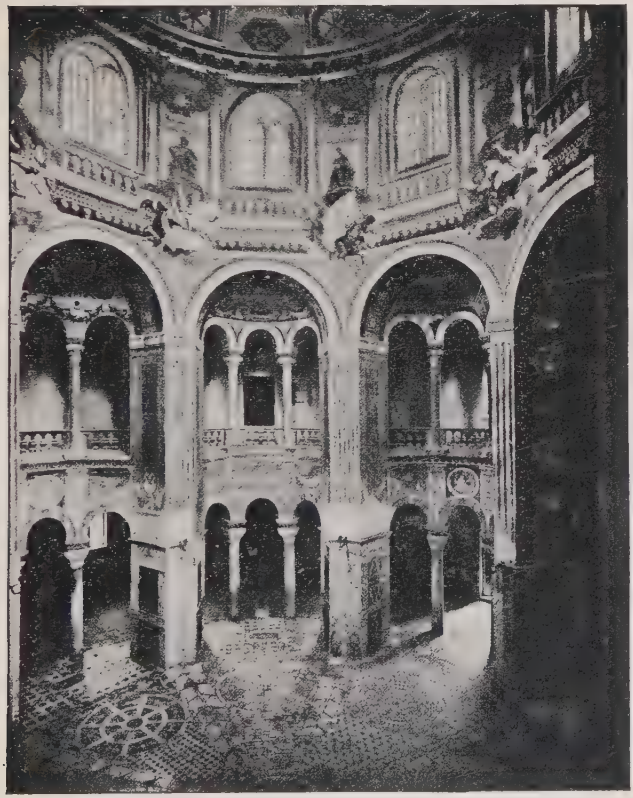
Odovaker did not dare call himself king of Italy. The Roman senate, at his command, sent to Zeno at Constantinople (§ 573), urging that the West needed no separate emperor, and asking that Zeno receive Italy as part of his dominion, to be ruled under Odovaker as lieutenant. This was of course granted, and Italy in name became a province of the Greek Empire (cf. like commissions to Burgundians, Goths, and Franks, §§ 564, 566, 599). Odovaker gathered Roman philosophers and men of letters about him, and tried to establish firm order and good government; but he was soon attacked by another more powerful German people (§ 577).

C. The East-Gothic Kingdom.

575. The Ostrogoths before they entered Italy. — When the West Goths sought refuge south of the Danube in 376 A.D., an eastern division of the same race had submitted to the Huns. These East Goths (Ostrogoths) recovered their independence on the death of Attila; and for a generation now they had dwelt within the Danubian provinces of the Eastern Empire, sometimes as allies, sometimes as enemies. Their young king, *Theodoric*, had been brought up as a hostage at the imperial court. He had felt the charm of Roman civilization and adopted its culture, but, with it all, he remained a typical Teutonic hero — of gigantic stature and romantic temper, a matchless warrior, impetuous in strife and wise in counsel — the kingliest figure of all the centuries of the invasions.

576. The Conquest of Italy. — In 489 A.D. Theodoric asked leave from Zeno to reconquer Italy for the Empire. Zeno was glad to get rid of him and to destroy barbarian by barbarian. With magnificent ceremonial he appointed Theodoric patrician, and gave the desired commission. Odovaker made a gallant resistance for four years. Theodoric beat him at Verona in a

great battle,[1] and then besieged him in the impregnable fortress of Ravenna. Odovaker finally surrendered on terms of friend-



Basilica of San Vitale at Ravenna (time of Theodoric the Great).

ship, but soon after was murdered at a banquet, on some suspicion, by Theodoric's own hand — the one sad blot on the great Goth's fame.

[1] Where Theodoric earned his name *Dietrich* (Theodoric) *of Bern* (Verona).

577. "Theodoric the Civilizer," 493–526 A.D. — Then began a Gothic kingdom in Italy, like the Teutonic states in Spain and Burgundy, and one that deserved a better fate than was to befall it. The Ostrogoths had come in *as a nation*, with women and children. They took a third of the lands of Italy (which had been held by the mercenaries of Odovaker), but all the rights of the Roman population were respected scrupulously. Goth and Roman lived in harmony side by side, each under his own law. Cities were rebuilt and new ones founded,

Sepulcher of Theodoric the Great at Ravenna.

with a new period of architectural glory. Public works were restored. The subdivision of the land into small estates led to a revival of agriculture. Theodoric's long reign was peaceful, prosperous, and happy, and Italy began to recover something of her former greatness.

578. The "Empire" of Theodoric the Great. — Theodoric, too, was the center of an informal alliance extending over all the Teutonic west. His wife was a Frankish princess; the Burgundian and Visigothic kings were his sons-in-law; his sister was married to the king of the Vandals. All these states recognized a certain preëminence in Theodoric, and it seemed

EUROPE
in the reign of
THEODORIC
500 A. D.
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 400
EXPLANATION
ROMAN EMPIRE
TEUTONIC SETTLEMENTS
ROVING TEUTONS
10 Longitude from Greenwich 20
Eboracum
Londinium
Köln
Trier
Paris
Metz
Orleans
Lyons
Milan
Ravenna
Arles
Toulouse
Bordeaux
Narbonne
Barcelona
Rome
Salona
Cherson
Constantinople
Thessalonica
Theodosiopolis
Melitene
Amida
Nisibis
Antioch
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Cartago
CRETE
SAXONS
THURINGIA
LOMBARDS
GEPIDA
HUNS
THRACE
PONTUS
ASIA
PERSARMENIA
PERSIAN KINGDOM
LACHMIDES
THEBEAST
EGYPT
VANDAL KINGDOM
WEST GOTHIC KINGDOM
EAST GOTHIC KINGDOM
FRANKISH KINGDOM
BRITAIN
SCOTS
PICTS
ANGLES
JUTES
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as though he were about to reunite the West into a great Teutonic empire, and so anticipate Charles the Great (§§ 636–649) by four centuries.

579. Elements of Weakness in the Gothic State. — After all, however, the Goths were strangers ruling a vastly larger Roman population. More serious still, they were Arians. Theodoric had shown a perfect toleration for the orthodox Christians (Catholics), but it was unbearable to the more zealous of these to be ruled by a heretic race. Theodoric's last years were shadowed by plots among the Romans to bring in the orthodox eastern power; and the night after his death, so it was told, a holy hermit saw his soul flung down the crater of Stromboli. A strong successor perhaps could yet have maintained the state; but Theodoric left only a daughter, and the Goths at once fell into factions among themselves.

D. Revival of the Empire.

580. The "Greek" or Byzantine Empire. — The parts of the empire peculiarly Latin had now fallen in pieces. There was left the empire east of the Adriatic. This part had always been essentially Greek in culture (§§ 391, 491, 492); and though it called itself Roman for the next ten centuries down to its fall, we commonly speak of it as the Greek Empire. Separated now from the west, it rapidly grew more and more Oriental in character. It preserved Greek learning, and warded off Persian and Arabian conquest, but it did not otherwise influence Western Europe greatly after the first few centuries.

581. Slav Invasions in the East. — When Theodoric led his Goths into Italy, he left the line of the Danube open to the more savage Slavs (§ 569). That people had been filtering into the East, as the Teutons had done in the West, as slaves, coloni, and mercenaries; and now, in 493 A.D., came their first real invasion. Then, for a generation, successive hordes poured in, penetrating as far as Greece, until Eastern Europe also seemed

lost to the Empire. Even the immediate neighborhood of Constantinople was saved only by a seventy-eight-mile Long Wall that protected the narrow tongue of land on which the capital stood.

582. Restoration and Reconquests. — At length, a century and a half after Theodosius the Great, another strong ruler arose at Constantinople. Justinian (527–565 A.D.) renewed the old frontier of the Danube, saved Europe from a threatened Persian conquest, and then turned to restore the imperial power in the West. He reconquered Africa, the Mediterranean islands, and part of Spain; and of course he caught eagerly at the conditions in Italy, after the death of Theodoric, to regain that land and the ancient Roman capital. His generals, Belisarius and Narses, were victorious here also, but only after a dreadful twenty years' war that destroyed at once the Gothic race and the rising greatness of the peninsula. Rome itself was sacked once more (by the Gothic king, Totila, 546 A.D.), and left for eleven days absolutely uninhabited.[1]

583. The Justinian Code. — Justinian is best remembered for his work in bringing about the codification of the Roman law. In the course of centuries that law had become an intolerable maze. Julius Caesar had planned its codification. Theodosius II. (§ 573) had made a beginning a century before Justinian; and now, in an incredibly short time, a commission of great lawyers gave to the whole body of the law a marvelous symmetry, brevity, and perspicuity. The work comprised the *Code*, or laws proper, the *Digest*, based upon the multitudinous "opinions" of the great lawyers of the past, and the *Institutes*, a kind of text-book upon the principles of Roman law.

The reconquest of Italy by Justinian established the Code in that land. Thence, in later centuries, it spread over the West, and became the foundation of all modern legal study in continental Europe, and the basis of nearly all codes of law

[1] Read the story of this struggle in Kingsley's *Roman and Teuton*.

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now in existence. Says Ihne (*Early Rome*, 2), "Every one of us is benefited directly or indirectly by this legacy of the Roman people — a legacy as valuable as the literary and artistic models which we owe to the great writers and sculptors of Greece." And Woodrow Wilson declares (*The State*, 158) that Roman Law "has furnished Europe with many, *if not most*, of her principles of private right." [1]

E. The Lombards in Italy.

584. Invited by Narses. — Among the mercenaries with whom Narses had conquered the Goths were bands of Lombards, a new German people who had crossed the Danube into the Eastern Empire when the East Goths moved on into Italy. Narses had been made governor of Italy with the title of exarch, and with his capital at Ravenna. After the death of Justinian, it is said, he found that enemies at the imperial court were plotting his ruin, and in revenge he invited the Lombard nation to seize Italy for themselves.

585. Final Break-up of Italian Unity. — In 568 A.D. these new invaders entered the land, and soon occupied the greater part of it. Their chief kingdom was in the Po valley, which ever since has kept the name Lombardy, while Lombard "dukedoms" were scattered over other parts of the peninsula. The Empire retained (1) the Exarchate of Ravenna on the Adriatic, (2) Rome, with a little surrounding territory on the west coast, and (3) the extreme south. This last was to remain Greek for centuries.

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[1] Cf. §§ 463 and 500. English and American law is always regarded, properly, as having a very distinct origin ; but Roman law profoundly affected legal development even in England, and so in the United States, while the law of Louisiana came very directly from it through the French code. On Roman Law, advanced students may consult Hadley, *Introduction to Roman Law*, and the noted forty-fourth chapter of Gibbon. Wilson's *The State*, pp. 142–159, gives an excellent account of its growth, and pp. 160, 161, a full bibliography for advanced students. A good treatment of Justinian's work is given also in Bury, bk. iv. ch. iii.

Thus the middle land which Roman and Teuton had struggled for through two centuries was at last divided between them, and shattered into fragments in the process. Italy ceased to be a state for thirteen centuries, and was not again united until 1870.

IV. THE FRANKS.

586. Preëminence among the Teutonic Conquerors. — The relation of the Franks on the lower Rhine to the early invasions has been noted (§ 568). Their real advance began almost at the time of the rise of the East Goths — eighty years later than the making of the Vandal, Burgundian, and Visigothic kingdoms, and as much earlier than the Lombard kingdom. To them fell the work of consolidating the Teutonic states into a mighty empire. Their final success was due, in the main, to two causes.

a. They did not *migrate* to distant lands, but only *expanded* from their original home; hence their state kept a sound basis for its power in an unmixed Teutonic element, while the other conquering nations lost themselves in the larger Roman populations among whom they settled.

b. When they adopted Christianity, it was the orthodox instead of the Arian form; this not only gained them support in their wars, but it did away for them with a standing cause of jealousy that existed between the other Teutons and their subjects.

587. Clovis; Early Conquests. — Until nearly 500 A.D. the Franks were pagans. Nor were they yet a nation, but were split into petty divisions without a common king. The founder of their greatness was Clovis (Clodowig, Louis). In 481 A.D., at the age of fifteen, he became king of a petty tribe near the mouth of the Rhine. In 486 he attacked the Roman possessions in North Gaul, and, after a victory at *Soissons*, added them to his kingdom. Ten years later he conquered the Alemanni, who had invaded Gaul, in a great battle near *Strassburg*, and made tributary their territory beyond the Rhine.

588. The Conversion of Clovis to Catholic Christianity.[1]—The real importance of the battle of Strassburg lies in this — that it was the occasion for the conversion of Clovis. His wife, Clotilda, was a Burgundian princess, but, unlike most of her nation, she was a devout Catholic. In a crisis in the battle, Clovis had vowed to serve the God of Clotilda if He would grant him victory; and in consequence he and three thousand of his warriors were baptized immediately afterward.

This fact was vital in both the religious and political history of Europe. Clovis was influenced, no doubt, by keen political insight. In the coming struggles with the Arian Goths and Burgundians, it was to be of immense advantage to have the subject Roman populations on his side, as an orthodox sovereign, against their own hated heretic rulers. The conversion was a chief agency, therefore, in building up the great Frankish state. Another result was not so easily foreseen: the rising Frankish kingdom came into intimate union with the rising bishops of Rome; and so this conversion was to prove a factor in building up the ecclesiastical headship of the Papacy and its temporal power (§ 632).

589. Later Conquests of Clovis and his Sons; the Frankish Empire of the Seventh Century. — His conversion furnished Clovis with a pretext for new advances. Declaring it intolerable that those "Arian dogs" should possess the fairest provinces of Gaul, he attacked both Burgundians and Visigoths, driving the latter for the most part beyond the Pyrenees. Then, by a horrible series of bloody treacheries during the remainder of his thirty years' reign, he got rid of the many kings of the other Franks, and consolidated that whole people under his sole rule. "Thus," says the pious chronicler, Gregory of Tours, "did God daily deliver the enemies of Clovis into his hand, because he walked before His face with an upright heart." His sons completed the subjugation of Burgundy, and added Bavaria and

[1] Advanced students will enjoy looking up Gregory of Tour's delightfully naïve account, ii. 30. Compare with the conversion of Constantine.

Thuringia to the realm — this last on the German side of the Rhine, beyond the old Roman world.

590. The Empire of the Franks under the Later Merovingians. — So in fifty years, mainly through the cool intellect and ferocious energy of one brutal savage, a little Teutonic tribe had grown into the great Frankish state, including nearly the whole of modern France, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Germany almost to the Elbe (except for the lands of the heathen Saxons toward the mouth of that river). Such territory to-day would make the greatest power in Europe. In the sixth and seventh centuries its preëminence was even more marked. Gothic Spain was weakened by quarrels between Arian and Catholic, Italy torn to shreds, Britain in chaos (§ 591), non-Frankish Germany filled with savage, unorganized tribes. The only real rivals of the Frankish state were the Greek Empire and a new Mohammedan power just rising in Arabia (§ 620 ff.), soon to contest Europe with both Greek and Frank.

The family of Clovis is known, from one of his ancestors, as Merovingian. It kept the throne for over two centuries after Clovis' death. In the first half of the period the rulers were commonly men of ruthless energy. In the second half they became mere phantom kings, and all real authority was exercised by great nobles who finally replaced them with a new royal line (§ 633). The two hundred years make a dismal story of greed, family hate, treacherous assassination, unbridled licentiousness, monotonous brutality. Few chapters in history are so unattractive. The empire was divided among the four sons of Clovis; reunited under a survivor, by methods similar to those of Clovis himself; and then again divided; and so on for long periods. Some sense of underlying unity, however, was preserved, and for long the superior claims of the family of Clovis to rule all the Teutonic parts of the dominion that he had founded were practically unquestioned. The Franks themselves, however, spread very little south of the Loire: North and South Gaul remained distinct in blood and character (§§ 616, 618, 619, 625).

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V. BRITAIN.

591. The Conquerors and the Early Kingdoms; the Victory exceedingly Slow. — The Teutonic conquest of Britain differed widely from that of the Continent. In the later period of Roman rule, fierce Saxon pirates had begun to harass the eastern coasts cruelly, swooping down in their swift barks to burn, slay, and plunder; then sacrificing to Woden on the shore a tenth of their captives, and vanishing as swiftly as they came.[1] When the Roman legions were finally withdrawn in 408 A.D., to defend Italy against Alaric, the inhabitants of the island were left exposed both to these German marauders and to the untamed Celts beyond the northern wall. The despairing Britons called in the German raiders to beat off the other foe, and these dangerous protectors soon began to seize the land for themselves. The chief invading tribes were the *Jutes* from the Danish peninsula (Jutland), and the *Saxons* and *Angles* (English) from its base. The Jutes made the first permanent settlement, about the middle of the century (449 A.D.), in southeastern Britain. The Saxons occupied the southern shore, and the Angles the eastern, carving out numerous petty states in a long series of cruel campaigns. Gradually these little units were welded into larger kingdoms, until there appeared seven prominent Teutonic states: Kent, the kingdom of the Jutes; Sussex, Essex, and Wessex (kingdoms of the South Saxons, East Saxons, and West Saxons), and the English kingdoms of East Anglia, Northumbria, and Mercia. We sometimes call the group of *seven* kingdoms *The Heptarchy.*

It was 600 A.D. before the German states had spread themselves over the eastern half of the island, after one hundred and fifty years of incessant war. This is a striking contrast to the rapid occupation of Gaul and Spain. The causes and the result of the difference are noteworthy.

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[1] Church's *Count of the Saxon Shore* is a readable novel dealing with this period of England's history.

592. The Causes of the Delay concern both Britain itself and the invaders. The Saxons at home were living in petty tribes under no common government, and therefore they could make no great organized attack; coming by sea, too, they necessarily came in small bands, not in a vast army. Moreover, they were still pagans, and, unlike even the Franks, untouched by Roman culture, so that they appeared as ruthless destroyers and provoked a desperate resistance. At the same time, Britain was less completely Romanized than were the continental provinces; there was more of forest and marsh, and a less extensive network of Roman roads; hence the natives found it easier to make repeated stands, — and those natives, too, had probably not so completely laid aside military habits as had the Gauls.

593. Result: England preëminently a Teutonic State. — Because the conquest was so slow, it was thorough. England alone, of all the Roman provinces seized by the Teutons, became strictly a Teutonic state. In the eastern half of the island in particular, Roman political and legal institutions, the Roman language, Christianity, even Roman names for the most part, vanished, and the Romanized natives were slain, driven out, or enslaved.

594. Conversion to Christianity, and Three Results. — About the year 600, Christianity first began to win its way among these heathen conquerors. In the north of England, the early missionaries came mainly from the old (Celtic) Christian Church still surviving in western Britain and in Ireland, and long cut off from close connection with the rest of Christendom; the south, on the other hand, was converted by missionaries sent out directly by the Pope of Rome; and the rulers of the north were soon brought to accept this better organized form of Christianity. The victory of the Roman Church dates from the famous *Council of Whitby* in Northumbria, in 664 A.D.

Three political results followed the conversion: —

a. Warfare with the native Britons became milder and more like ordinary wars between rival states.

b. The ecclesiastical union of the island foreshadowed and helped to create the later political union.

c. The adoption of the same form of Christianity and the same church government as that on the Continent brought the island back into the general current of European development.

For Further Reading on the Chapter. — The sources are not available except *Gregory of Tours* for the Franks, the first real history of the Middle Ages. Modern authorities: Hodgkin's *Theodoric* (Heroes); Kingsley's *Roman and Teuton;* Sheppard's *Fall of Rome;* Bradley's *Goths* (Nations); Curteis' *Roman Empire,* 48–54 and 95–209; Green's *English People*, opening chapters; Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*, chs. ii. and iii.; Freeman's *Historical Geography*, 87–110; Sergeant's *Franks* (Nations); Adams' *Civilization during the Middle Ages;* Church's *Beginning of the Middle Ages;* Church's *Early Britain;* Oman's *Byzantine Empire* (Nations), chs. vi.–vii.; Emerton's *Introduction to the Middle Ages;* Church's *Count of the Saxon Shore* and Dahn's *Felicitas* (Novels).

For advanced students: Hodgkin's *Italy* (7 volumes); Bury's *Later Roman Empire;* Green's *Making of England;* Freeman's *Chief Periods* (Lectures III. and IV.), *Goths at Ravenna* (*Essays*, 3d series), and *Franks* (*Essays*, 1st series).

Exercise. — For review, trace each barbarian people from the crossing of the barriers to the last mention in this period. Trace the history of Gaul, Italy, and Spain, through the period, noting for each land what peoples left important elements in race or institutions. In both exercises, the device of *catchwords* may be used with advantage; and students may be encouraged to prepare tables, showing, in separate columns, the peoples, events, leaders, dates, etc. List battles, with leaders and dates, for rapid "fact-drills." The field is a good one for exercises calling for historical imagination (p. 198).

Special Reports. — 1. The "Fall" of Rome, 476 A.D. (Besides other authorities, see Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*, ch. iii.; Freeman's review of Bryce in *Essays*, 3d series; Hodgkin, II. ch. viii.; Bury, preface and bk. iii. ch. v.) 2. Aëtius (Freeman in *English Historical Review*, July, 1887, if accessible). 3. Attila's pretexts (Bury, I. 175). 4. A glimpse of Hun life (Bury, I. 213–223). 5. Anecdotes of Pope Gregory and the English prisoners; Augustine's Mission; Queen Bertha's work (cf. Clotilda in Gaul). 6. Stories of the Celtic monks in North England. 7. Council of Whitby.

CHAPTER III.

THE STATE OF EUROPE, 600–800 A.D.

I. THE DARK AGES.[1]

595. The Dark Ages. — After all allowances are made (§§ 597, 599), the invasions of the fifth and sixth centuries remain the most remarkable catastrophe that ever affected a civilized society. It took long to restore order. The seventh and eighth centuries are a dreary period of confusion, lawlessness, and ignorance — the lowest point ever reached by European civilization. To these four centuries, if to any, the name *Dark Ages* may be applied. There was no tranquil leisure and therefore no study. There was little security and therefore little labor. While the Franks and Goths were learning the rudiments of civilized life, the Latins were losing all but the rudiments — and, for a time, losing faster than the Germans gained. To the old causes of decay, two new ones were added: the indifference and ignorance of the new ruling classes, few of whom could read or write, and the growing divergence between the new spoken language and the literary language. Classical literature, long sinking anyway, suddenly became extinct. The old Roman schools finally disappeared, or were represented only by new monastic schools with meagre and formal instruction in the merest rudiments.

At the same time the old Roman civilization, in many obscure ways, did survive, and new institutions slowly grew up to mold medieval[2] Europe into form once more (§§ 596–615).

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[1] Read Church's *Beginning of the Middle Ages*, ch. ii. (last part) and ch. iii.

[2] The in-pouring of the Teutons between 376 and 476 is sometimes said to close Ancient History. Those who speak in this way divide history into Ancient, Medieval, and Modern, and give the name Medieval to the period

II. THE BARBARIANS AND THE OLD ROMAN CIVILIZATION.

596. Small Numbers of the Invaders; Weak Resistance by Provincials. — A significant fact is that the forces which occupied the western Roman world in the fifth century were far smaller than had been driven back in rout many times before. The highest estimate for the whole Burgundian nation is eighty thousand. The Vandals counted no more. The Visigoths, when they conquered Spain, hardly exceeded thirty thousand warriors. Clovis commanded less than six thousand men when he annexed Roman Gaul.

The conquests (outside Britain) were attended with little warfare. When the Roman legions had been beaten in the field, the struggle was over. Those legions and their commanders were mainly German. The provincials were largely so (§ 554), and in any case these last had come to be temporarily indifferent to a change of masters. Nor, indeed, did it appear to them at the time that the change differed materially from the practice of admitting turbulent "allies" into the empire — a process that had been going on for centuries.

The importance of this previous slow occupation, in contrast with the final swift conquest, cannot be too strongly emphasized. Until the last moment, it was "not a torrent overwhelming, but a slow, persistent force disintegrating."

"The barbarian," says Seeley, with some exaggeration, of course, "occupied the Roman Empire almost as the Anglo-Saxon is occupying North America: he settled and peopled rather than conquered it." — *Roman Imperialism*, 56.

597. The relatively Small Amount of Destruction outside Britain.[1] — The reverence of the barbarians for Rome has been illustrated repeatedly in the preceding pages (especially §§ 564, 566). Even Clovis was pleased to receive an appointment as

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from about 400 to about 1500 A.D. This book follows a different classification (§§ 3, 4), but it sometimes uses the expressions *Medieval* and *Middle Age* as descriptive terms for the period to which they are commonly applied.

[1] For §§ 597–599, read Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*, ch. iii.

consul from Constantinople. The Germans did not wish to destroy, but to possess. They were awed by the marvelous devices, the massive structures, the stately pomp, of the civilization they had conquered. The mood is best shown by the exclamation of a Gothic king when first he visited Constantinople: "Without doubt the emperor is a god on earth, and he who attacks him is guilty of his own blood."

These conditions helped to make the destruction of the old civilization on the Continent less than we should at first expect. Much of course the barbarians did destroy — often in the wanton mood of children, as in the story of the warrior who dashed his battle-ax at the beautiful mosaic floor to see whether the swan swimming there were alive. More was lost because they did not understand its use. But the framework of Roman society did survive, together with many specific institutions; and most that at the time *seemed* ruined was sooner or later to be recovered by the Teutons themselves, — so that

"almost, if not quite, every achievement of the Greeks and the Romans in thought, science, law, and the practical arts, is now a part of our civilization — either among the tools of our daily life or in the forgotten foundation-stones which have disappeared from sight because we have built some more complete structure upon them." [1]

598. Relations between Teutons and the Roman Populations. — The Germans already within the empire had been largely Romanized. The new invaders settled among Roman populations ten or fifteen, or many more, times their own numbers. At first the Teutons made the rulers and the bulk of the larger landlords. They formed the aristocratic forces in rural society. The towns, with their varied industries, remained essentially Roman; and the older inhabitants also furnished most of the priests and the secretaries and confidential officers of the conquering lords. After a while the two races fused rapidly, and the Germans in the main were assimilated to the older physical type (outside of eastern Britain and northeastern Gaul).

[1] Adams' *Civilization*, 9–10. Cf. §§ 3 and 269 of this book.

599. Persistance of the Idea of a Roman Empire. — We see now that the Roman Empire had passed away in the West before the year 500. But men of that day did not see it. They could not believe that the dominion of the "Eternal City" was dead; and therefore in a most important sense it did not die. The *idea* of Rome's rule lived on for three hundred years, until it again became external fact (§ 642). To understand the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, it is needful to remember this central truth of Freeman's (condensed from his *Historical Geography*, 106): —

"Teutonic kings ruled in the West, but nowhere (except in England) had they become national sovereigns in the eyes of the people of the land. They were simply the chiefs of their own peoples (Goths, Franks, etc.) reigning in the midst of a Roman population *who looked to the Caesar of New Rome* (Constantinople) as their lawful sovereign."

600. The Church and the Barbarians. — The Church suffered a lowering of religious tone, due to the imperfect comprehension of Christianity by the new converts; and at the same time it gained power through their superstitious reverence. Christianity raised the new nations, but in the effort it was dragged down part way to their level. More emphasis was placed on ceremonies and forms. The clergy, especially the higher clergy, became often merely ambitious and worldly lords, preachers of a coarse and superficial religion, men who too often connived at imposture, lived vicious lives, and were unable to understand the services they mumbled. Such degradation, in the terrible calamities of those centuries, was to be expected. The student's danger is in overrating it. Despite it all, the truth remains, that the Church and the Christian teaching was the salt that kept the world sweet for later times. In the wildest disorder of the sixth and seventh centuries, there were found priests, monks, and bishops inspired with zeal for righteousness and love for men, and there were found also in all ranks of society some willing followers of such teachers. The Church as a whole protected the weak and stood for peaceful, industrious, and right living.

601. Excursus: Moral Preaching in the Dark Ages. — Controversial Protestant writers have sometimes accused the Catholic Church of this age of putting *all* stress upon forms and of neglecting totally the duty of man to man. The charge is bitterly unjust. Many sermons of the seventh century place peculiar emphasis upon good works. "It is not enough," says the good Bishop St. Eloy, to his flock, in a fervent exhortation, — "It is not enough, most dearly beloved, for you to have received the name of Christians if you do not do Christian works. To be called a Christian profits him who always retains in his mind and fulfills in his actions the commands of Christ; that is, who does not commit theft. . . .

"Come, therefore, frequently to church; humbly seek the patronage of the saints; keep the Lord's day in reverence of the resurrection without any servile work; celebrate the festivals of the saints with devout feeling; love your neighbors as yourselves; what you would desire to be done to you by others, that do you to others; what you would not have done to you, do to no one; before all things have charity, for charity covereth a multitude of sins; be hospitable, humble, casting your care upon God, for he careth for you; visit the sick; seek out the captives; receive strangers; feed the hungry; clothe the naked; set at naught soothsayers and magicians; let your weights and measures be fair, your balance just, your bushel and your pint honest. . . ."[1]

III. MONASTICISM.

602. Eastern Hermits and Western Monks. — The eastern Church gave rise early to a class of ascetics and hermits who strove each to save his own soul by tormenting his body, and by secluding himself from the world.[2] The persecutions in the third century augmented the numbers of these fugitives from society more excusably, until the Egyptian and Syrian deserts swarmed with tens of thousands of them. In some cases they came to unite into small bodies with common rules of life. In

[1] This homily is printed at some length by Maitland (*Dark Ages*, 109 ff.). Curiously enough, garbled extracts from just this sermon led many historians (Robertson, Hallam, etc.) to deny any religion of good works to this age. Advanced students may like to compare Robertson's treatment (*History of Charles V.*, note xi. of the *Proofs and Illustrations*) with Maitland's refutation. Guizot (*Civilization in France*, II. 322, 327) gives some good illustrations of the homely and practical preaching of the day and its intensely religious character.

[2] Read Kingsley's *Hermits*.

the latter part of the fourth century this idea of religious communities was transplanted to the West, and the long anarchy following the invasions gave peculiar inducements to such a life there.

Thus arose one of the most peculiar and powerful medieval institutions. The fundamental causes in Europe were, first, the longing on the part of many men for a life of religious contemplation, and, second, the peculiar conditions which, over large areas, made any quiet living impossible except through some such withdrawal from society.

At the same time, European monasticism differed widely from its model. The monks in the West did partake in the error that holy living lay in crushing natural instincts and affections; but they never paralleled the worst excesses of the East, and they wisely sought escape from temptation, even within their quiet walls, not in idleness, but in active and incessant work. Their very motto was, "To work is to pray," and the old proverb of Satan and idle hands strikes a keynote in Western monasticism. The contrast typifies the difference between the practical West and the mystical East.

603. Growth and Organization. — A body of enthusiasts, uniting for mutual religious aid, would raise a few rude buildings in a pestilential marsh or in a wilderness. Gradually their numbers grew; the marsh was drained, or the desert became a garden through their toil; the first plain structures gave way to massive and stately towers; lords or kings gave the *monastery* lands; fugitive slaves and serfs tilled them; perhaps villages or towns sprung up upon them under the rule of the *abbot*. Such was the story of hundreds of early communities. Similar institutions for women afforded a much-needed refuge for great numbers of that sex in that troublous age.

At first each such monastery or nunnery was a rule unto itself. Finally the various communities became united in a few great brotherhoods. In particular, *St. Benedict*, in the sixth century, published and preached rules for a monastic life

that were widely adopted. Two hundred years later, nearly all monks in Western Europe were Benedictines. The order at its height is said to have counted over forty thousand monasteries.

604. The Three Vows and the Monastic Life. — Each Benedictine took the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. He renounced all wealth for himself (though the monastery might become wealthy); he renounced marriage; he renounced his own will in all things in favor of that of his superior in the monastery — the abbot or prior. To all this was added the obligation of work. The monks were the most skillful and industrious tillers of the soil; they taught neighboring youth in monastic schools; they lovingly copied and illustrated manuscripts; and they themselves produced whatever new literature Europe had for some centuries. In particular, they cared for the poor and suffering. For centuries of disorder and violence the monasteries were to Western Europe the only almshouses, inns, asylums, hospitals, and schools.

605. Relation to the Clergy. — A monastery at first was a religious association of laymen; but gradually the monks became the most zealous of missionaries and the most devoted of preachers. As they took on clerical character, there arose a long struggle between them and the bishops. The bishops desired to exercise authority over them as over other lower clergy; the monks insisted upon independence under their own abbots, and finally won it in a long series of charters. Because subject to *rule*, the monks became known as *regular* clergy, while the ordinary clergy were styled secular.[1]

IV. DEVELOPMENT OF TEUTONIC LAW.

606. Codes. — When the barbarians entered the Empire, their law was simply unwritten custom. Much of it continued so,

[1] Good brief treatments of early monasticism will be found in Curteis and in Adams, a longer account in Guizot, II., or in the Church histories. Henderson's *Documents* gives the "Rule of St. Benedict."

especially in England; but, under the influence of Roman ideas, the tribes on the Continent soon began to put parts of their law in the form of written codes. These throw interesting sidelights upon the times and the men. Three points may be noted here.

607. Personality of Law. — In modern civilized countries, law is *territorial;* that is, all persons in a given territory come under the law of that land. But to the Teutons, even after their conquests, law was *personal.* A man carried his law with him wherever he went. It was felt that a Roman, a Goth, a Burgundian, even though all were members of the Frankish state, should each be judged by his own law.

608. Trial by Compurgation or Ordeal. — Proof rested not upon evidence to the fact in dispute, but upon the sworn word of the accuser and accused, backed by their *compurgators* — not witnesses, but persons who would swear they believed that the chief actors respectively were telling the truth.[1]

This system was in a way an appeal to the divine judgment.[2] To speak falsely was to invite divine vengeance, and stories are told of men who fell dead with the judicial lie on their lips. The same idea was elaborated a little later in two other forms of proof — the *ordeal* and the *judicial combat.* In the former, the accused tried to clear himself by the lot, by plunging his arm into boiling water, by carrying red-hot iron, by being thrown bound into water, etc.[3] Among the noble classes the

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[1] The value of a man as a compurgator depended upon his rank; a noble was worth several freemen. The number called for depended also upon the crime. According to one code, three compurgators of a given rank could free a man accused of murdering a serf; it took seven if he were accused of killing a freeman, and eleven if a noble.

[2] The idea, and probably the practice itself, survives in the boy's incantation, "Cross my heart and hope to die," if his word is questioned.

[3] For a brief description of these trials, see Emerton, 80–87. Such tests were sometimes made by deputy; hence our phrase, "to go through fire and water" for a friend. The byword, "he is in hot water," comes also from these trials, and so, too, the later test of witchcraft by throwing suspected old women into a pond to sink or float.

favorite method came to be the "trial by combat," — a judicial duel which was prefaced by religious ceremonies and in which God was expected to "show the right."

609. Money Payments for Offences. — Warriors were too valuable to be lightly sacrificed, and punishment by imprisonment was not in keeping with Teutonic custom. Practically all crimes had a money penalty, varying from a small amount for cutting off the joint of the little finger to the *wer-geld* (man-money), or payment for a man's life. It is significant that the fine for cutting off a man's right arm was about the same as for killing him outright. The wer-geld varied, of course, with the rank of the victim.

For Further Reading. — Probably the best brief treatment is in Emerton's *Introduction*, 73–91; Henderson's *Documents* (314–319) gives a number of formulas for ordeals.

V. INFLUENCE OF THE CONQUESTS UPON TEUTONIC POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

610. Kingship becomes Hereditary and more Absolute. — The conquest modified Teutonic institutions in many ways. In particular, greater power fell to the kings. They secured large shares of confiscated wealth and land, so that they could reward their immediate followers and build up a still stronger personal following; the Roman idea regarding absolutism in the head of the state had its influence; and their authority grew by custom, since, in the confusion of the times, multitudinous matters were necessarily left to their decision. From these three factors it came to pass that the former war chiefs became real sovereigns.[1]

611. A New Territorial Nobility: the Germ of the Later Feudal System. — The old nobility of blood gave way to a new *terri-*

[1] Clovis was a fairly despotic king before his death; a special report upon the vase of Soissons incident (told in all histories of France) will show how limited his power was at first, and also somewhat how, in war, a chief could increase his power.

After 507 the Kingdom of the West Goths in

to a small southern strip (Septimania).

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torial nobility of office or service. The higher ranks came in part from the old class of "companions" of the king (§ 560), who were now rewarded with grants of land and intrusted with important powers as governors of provinces (counts and dukes). So were brought together the Teutonic personal relation of "companion" and lord, the holding of land, and the exercise of political power. This union was to grow into the *feudal system*, the peculiar organization of society in Europe for several hundred years; but the new system was not clearly established until after the year 800 A.D.

612. The Popular Assemblies decreased in Importance as the power of the kings and nobles grew; but such assemblies did not at this time altogether disappear. In England they survived as occasional *Folk-moots*, and under the Frankish kings as *Mayfield* assemblies.

VI. SUMMARY OF ROMAN AND TEUTONIC CONTRIBUTIONS.

The two great streams of influence that were to make the modern world had now come in contact (§§ 3, 4). Let us sum up the elements of each.

613. The Roman Empire Contributed:—

Indirectly:

a. The Greek intellectual and artistic conceptions, together with all that had been preserved from the older world.

b. Christianity.

Directly:

c. A universal language — a common medium of learning and intercourse for centuries.

d. Roman law.

e. Municipal institutions.

f. The idea and machinery of centralized administration.

g. The conception of *one* lasting universal supreme authority to which the civilized world owed legitimate obedience.

Note that these elements were not all of them unmixed with evil. The fourth and fifth were, to some degree, inharmonious also. The last was to lie at the base of the medieval Empire (§§ 641, 643) and of the Papacy.

614. The Teutons Contributed: —

a. Themselves (cf. theme sentence at the head of Part VI. p. 458).

b. The new value of the *individual* as opposed to the state.

c. *Personal loyalty*, as contrasted with loyalty to the state.

d. A new chance for democracy — in the popular assemblies of different grades, some of which, in England, were to develop *representative* features.

It is not correct to say that the Teutons gave us representative government. *What they did was to give another chance to develop it.* The earlier peoples had lost their chances. The longer-continued rural organization of the Teutons, together with certain future features of English history, were to secure success.

e. A system of self-developing law. The codification of the Roman law preserved it, but also fixed and crystallized it. Teutonic law was crude and unsystematic, but it contained possibility of growth. The importance of this has been felt mainly in the English "Common Law," which is of course the basis of our American legal system.

615. Influence of the Mixture upon Later European Civilization. — This *mingling* of forces has been felt ever since in European history. As has been before noted (§§ 79, 80), Oriental civilizations quickly became uniform; society crystallized; development ceased. European civilization began in Greece with diversity and freedom, and these factors were aided by geographical conditions over all Western Europe, with its small territorial divisions and indented coast. But after some centuries, the Roman Empire had begun to take on Oriental uniformity: society there, too, had crystallized (§ 550), and progress apparently had ceased. The mingling of the new elements contributed by the Teutons with the older Roman elements resulted in an interaction of opposing principles which has prevented later European society from becoming stagnant, and has significantly aided progress.

CHAPTER IV.

POLITICAL EUROPE, 600–800 A.D.

I. THE FRANKS TO CHARLES MARTEL.

616. Rivalry of Neustria and Austrasia. — In the seventh century the lines of partition between the Frankish sub-kingdoms (§ 590) shifted from time to time, but on the whole there stand out four great sections of the empire: Burgundy and Aquitaine in the south, and the East Franks and West Franks (Austrasia and Neustria) in the north. The first two were mainly Roman in blood; the last two were largely German, especially Austrasia. This province comprised the old home and the chief vigor of the Frankish race, little affected by Roman influences; but Neustria, containing the early conquests of Clovis and his imperial capital, held a certain prestige over all the rest.

The family contests among the rulers of the sub-kingdoms finally resolved themselves into a struggle for supremacy between these two states, Neustria and Austrasia; it was plain that south Gaul must fall to the victor.

617. "Do-nothing Kings" and Mayors of the Palace. — From 628 to 638 A.D. the whole empire was reunited under the vigorous *Dagobert*, but after that monarch's death the Merovingian line declined rapidly. The kings earned the name of "Do-nothings," and real power was exercised in each sub-kingdom by a mayor of the palace. Originally this officer was a chief domestic, the head of the royal household (cf. § 519); but one by one he had withdrawn all the functions of government from the indolent kings. At first the office was filled by the king's appointment; as it grew more important, the nobles

sometimes claimed the right to elect the holder; and in Austrasia the position finally became hereditary. Soon after Dagobert's time, the rule of the mayors had become so undisguised that contemporaries began to date events by the mayor's name rather than by the king's. Once a year, the long-haired king himself was carried forth in stately procession on his ox-cart, to be shown to the Assembly of the Mayfield. The rest of the time he lived retired on some obscure estate, in indolence and swinish pleasures that brought him to an early grave.[1]

618. Pippin of Heristal: Testry. — The fifty years after Dagobert were filled with anarchy and civil war, and the Frankish state seemed about to fall to pieces; in particular, Bavaria and Thuringia (purely German) and Aquitaine (the most purely Roman province, § 590) broke away into states practically independent under native dukes. But finally, at the battle of Testry (687 A.D.), the Austrasians under their mayor, Pippin of Heristal, established their supremacy over the West Franks. Austrasia at this moment had no separate king, and Pippin might now have set up an independent kingdom there; but instead he chose wisely to rule both kingdoms as mayor of Neustria, appointing a trusted friend mayor of Austrasia. In appearance, Austrasia remained the less dignified state, but really it had given to the realm of the Franks a new line of rulers and a new infusion of German blood and ideas. Testry stands for a second Teutonic conquest of the more Roman provinces, and for a reunion of the two halves of the empire. Some of the great border dukedoms long remained almost independent; but Pippin is rightly regarded as the second founder of the Frankish state.

619. Charles Martel, Sole Mayor. — Pippin's son, Charles, went farther. He concentrated in his single person the offices of mayor of Austrasia, of Neustria, and of Burgundy, and brought back to subjection the great dukedoms of Bavaria and Thuringia;

[1] Read Hodgkin's *Charles the Great*, 13.

he established firm order, too, among the unruly chiefs of the German frontier, and partially reasserted the old Frankish authority over Aquitaine, which was now making a gallant fight for national independence. The crushing blows Charles dealt his rivals in these struggles won him the title of the Hammer (Martel), which he was soon to justify in a more critical conflict that saved Europe from Mohammedanism (§ 625). Except for Pippin and Martel, there would have been no Christian power able to withstand the Arab onslaught. The victory of Testry and the pounding of the Hammer of the Franks came none too soon.

For Further Reading. — Hodgkin's *Charles the Great*, 8–45; Church's *Beginning of the Middle Ages*, 82–88; Sergeant's *Franks*.

II. THE MOHAMMEDAN PERIL.

620. Arabia before Mohammed. — About a century after Clovis built up the empire of the Franks, a better man, out of less promising materials, began to create a mighty political and religious force in Arabia — at the farthest corner of the Mediterranean world, and in a region until then beyond the pale of history. This new power was destined, within the time spanned by one human life, to win Persia from the Zoroastrians, Asia and Africa from the Greek Empire, and to contest Western Europe with the Franks. Checked in this attempt, it was still to maintain itself in Spain for eight hundred years, and later to win Eastern Europe, where, though corrupt and decayed, it still maintains a foothold.

The best of the Arabian tribes were related to the Jews and the old Assyrians, but on the whole the peninsula contained a mongrel population. A few tribes near the Red Sea had risen to a respectable material civilization, but the greater number were poor and ignorant; all were weak, disunited, and idolatrous. The inspiring force that was to lift them to a higher life, and fuse them into a world-conquering nation, was the fiery enthusiasm of Mohammed.

621. Mohammed, to the Hegira. — This remarkable man never learned to read, but his speech was fluent and forceful, and his manner pleasing and commanding. His youth had been modest, serious, and truthful, so that he had earned the surname of *The Faithful.* At twenty-five he became wealthy by marriage with his employer, the good widow Kadijah, and until forty he continued to live the life of an influential, respected merchant. He had always been subject, however, to occasional periods of religious ecstasy (which may have been connected with a tendency to hysteria or epilepsy), and now, upon a time as he watched and prayed in the desert, a wondrous vision revealed to him (he said) a higher religion, and enjoined upon him the mission of preaching it to his people. At first, indeed, Mohammed seems to have feared that this vision was a subtle temptation of the devil; but Kadijah's confidence convinced him that it came truly from heaven, and he entered upon his arduous task.

The better features of the new religion were drawn from Jewish and Christian sources (with which the merchant had become somewhat acquainted in his travels); and indeed Mohammed recognized Abraham, Moses, and Christ as true prophets, but claimed that he was to supersede them. His precepts were embodied in the sacred book of the Koran. The two essential elements of his religious teaching were belief in one God (*Allah*), and submission to His will (*Islam*) as revealed by His final prophet.

Mohammed's closest intimates accepted him at once, but beyond them, in the first twelve discouraging years of preaching, he made only a few groups of converts. Especially did his townsfolk of Mecca, the chief city of Arabia, jeer his pretensions. The priests of the old religion roused the people against him, and finally he barely escaped with life from his home.

622. From the Hegira to the death of Mohammed, 622-632 A.D. — This flight of the prophet from Mecca is the Hegira, the point from which the Mohammedan world reckons time,

as Christendom does from the birth of Christ. The first year of the Mohammedan era corresponds to our year 622 A.D.

From this time dates a change in Mohammed's policy. Like his enemies, he also took up the sword; and now he made converts rapidly and soon recaptured Mecca, which became the sacred city of the faith. His fierce warriors were almost irresistible, inspired, as they were, not only by religious devotion, but also by a high fatalism that conquered fear, and by a faith that rejoiced in death in battle as the surest admission to the joys of Paradise.

"The sword," said Mohammed, "is the key of heaven. A drop of blood shed in the cause of God is of more avail than two months of fasting and prayer; whoso falls in battle, all his sins are forgiven; at the day of judgment his wounds shall be resplendent as vermilion and odoriferous as musk."

At the same time, they were comparatively mild in victory. Pagans, it is true, had to choose between the new teaching and death; but Jews and Christians were allowed to keep their faith, if they chose, on payment of tribute. Mohammed preached now a political system as well as a religion. He became not only prophet, but king — supreme in all matters civil, military, and religious. This *theocratic* and despotic character descended to the Caliphs who followed him[1] and has marked the chief rulers of the Mohammedan world ever since.

Mohammed has been vehemently accused of resorting to fraud and deceit to advance his cause. To ascertain the exact truth of the matter is impossible. In the stress of conflict, and under the temptation of power, his character may have suffered some decline; but on the whole, he seems to have been earnest and sincere to the end, however self-deluded. Certainly his rules restrained vice and set up higher standards of right than had ever been presented to the people for whom he made them; and the religious enthusiasm he inspired created a mighty nation of devoted courage and strict morals.

[1] Caliph means "successor" of the Prophet.

and, finally, of noble culture. Just before his death, he had sent ambassadors to demand the submission of the two great powers in the East, — the Greek Empire and Persia. According to the story, the Persian ruler answered the messenger, naturally enough: "Who are you to attack an empire? You, of all peoples the poorest, most disunited, most ignorant!" "What you say," replied the Arabian, "*was* true. But now we are a new people. God has raised up among us a man, His prophet, and his religion has enlightened our minds, extinguished our hatreds, and made us a society of brothers."

623. The Seventy Years of Conquest. — Mohammed lived only ten years after the Hegira, and his own sway had nowhere reached beyond Arabia. Eighty years after his death, his followers stood victorious upon the Oxus, the Indus, the Black Sea, the Atlantic. Most of the wide realm so bounded — including the great historic peoples of the Iran plateau and of the Nile and Euphrates valleys — still belongs to their faith. All the Asiatic empire of Alexander had fallen to it; all North Africa beside; and already, drawing together the sweeping horns of its mighty crescent-form, this new power was trying to enter Europe from both east and west — by the narrow straits of the Hellespont and of Gibraltar.

624. The Attack upon Europe in the East; the Repulse at Constantinople. — The preservation of Europe from the first attack lay with the Greek Empire. After Justinian (§ 582) that state had fallen again to decay, and, for a time, had seemed in danger of annihilation by the Slavs from Europe and Persians from Asia. Now the Arabs had conquered Persia, taking its ancient place as the champion of the Orient; they had overrun Syria and Asia Minor also; and in 672 A.D. they besieged Constantinople itself. Their victory at this time (before Testry) would have left all Europe open to their triumphal march; but the heroism and generalship of *Constantine IV.* saved the western world. Happily, in the twenty years' anarchy that followed this emperor's death, the Sara-

cens made no determined effort; but in 717 A.D. they returned to the attack. A new and vigorous ruler had just come to the throne at Constantinople — *Leo the Isaurian*, who was to begin another glorious line of Greek emperors. Leo had only five months after his accession in which to restore order and to prepare for the terrific onset of the Mohammedans; but once more the Asiatics were beaten back — after a twelve months' siege. The most formidable menace to Europe wore itself away on the walls of the city of Constantine.

Arabian chroniclers themselves say that only thirty thousand survived of a host of one hundred and eighty thousand well-appointed warriors who began the siege. The Greek authorities made the Saracen numbers some three hundred thousand, and "by the time the story reached Western Europe these numbers had grown beyond all recognition."

A chief weapon of the defense was the newly invented Greek fire, which was afterward to be used with terrible effect by the Mohammedans themselves. Six centuries later, Western Europe was still ignorant of its secret, and an old crusader who first saw it in a night battle described it as follows: "Its nature was in this wise, that it rushed forward as large round as a cask of verjuice, and the tail of the fire which issued from it was as big as a large-sized spear. It made such a noise in coming that it seemed as if it were a thunderbolt from heaven, and it looked like a dragon flying through the air. It cast such a brilliant light that in the camp we could see as clearly as if it were noonday." — JOINVILLE, *St. Louis*.

625. The Attack in the West: Repulse at Tours. — In 711 A.D., however, the Arabs did enter Spain, and were soon masters of the kingdom, except for a few remote mountain fastnesses where Visigothic chieftains maintained a precarious independence. Then, crossing the Pyrenees, the Mohammedan flood spread over Gaul, even to the Loire. Now, indeed, it "seemed that the crescent was about to round to the full." But the Duke of Aquitaine (who had long led a revolt against Frankish supremacy) now fled to Charles Martel for aid, and in 732 B.C., in the plains near Tours, the "Hammer of the Franks" met the Arab host with his close array of mailed Austrasian infantry. From dawn to dark, on a Saturday in

October, the gallant turbaned horsemen of the Saracens dashed recklessly, but in vain, against that stern wall of iron. That night the survivors stole in silent flight from their camp, and, though they kept some hold upon a fringe of Aquitaine for a while, Gaul was saved.

The battle of Tours, just one hundred years after Mohammed's death, is the high-water mark of the Saracen invasion. No doubt the attempt would have been renewed more vigorously, but only a few years afterward the Mohammedan world, like Christendom, split into rival empires. The Caliph of the East built, for his capital, Bagdad on the Tigris, for centuries the richest and greatest city in the world; the Caliphate of the West established its capital at Cordova in Spain. The two states were bitter rivals, and, with this disunion, the critical danger to Western civilization had passed. The repulses at Constantinople and at Tours rank with Marathon, Salamis, Metaurus, and Châlons, in the long struggle between Asia and Europe.

626. Later Mohammedanism. — The Arabs quickly adopted the Greek culture, and, to some degree, extended it, in their centuries of supremacy. In Persia and Spain they developed a noble literature; they sustained the most advanced schools and universities of the Middle Ages; from India they brought the "Arabic" notation; algebra and alchemy (chemistry) are Arabic in origin as in name; the heavens retain evidence of their studies in a thick sprinkling of Arabic names (like *Aldebaran*), while numerous astronomical terms (azimuth, zenith, nadir, etc.) testify to the same zeal. On the whole, however, even the Arabs showed little real *creative* power; and at a later time political leadership fell to races like the Turks,[1] less

[1] The term *Saracen*, sometimes applied to any Mohammedan power, belongs strictly to the Arabs; in North Africa the Arabs mingled with the Berbers of *Mauritania*, and the race became known as Moors (afterward dominant in Spain); the Turks, who now for almost a thousand years have been the leading Mohammedan people, came in later from Northern Asia and are allied to the Tartars.

capable of culture. Moreover, Mohammedanism did directly sanction polygamy and slavery (evils which Mohammed found existing about him, and which he accepted); it left no room for the rise of woman; and, worst of all, since the Prophet's teachings were final, it crystallized into a changeless system, opposed to all improvement and doomed therefore to decay. Thus, even at its best, Mohammedan civilization was marked by an Oriental character: it was despotic, uniform, stagnant,— sure to be outrun finally by the western European world, ruder at first, but more progressive.

For Further Reading. — Curteis' *Roman Empire*, 210–227; Stillé, 98–126; Freeman's *Saracens;* Bury, II. bk. v. ch. vi.; Oman's *Byzantine Empire;* Carlyle's essay on *Mohammed* (*Heroes and Hero-worship*). Advanced students may consult Draper's *Intellectual Development of Europe*, and Bury's Gibbon, ch. l.

Muir's *The Coran* gives translations of important passages; some translations are given in Guernsey Jones' *Source Extracts.*

III. THE PAPACY.

A. Rise to Ecclesiastical Headship.

627. Claim: Doctrine of the "Petrine Supremacy." — In the fourth and fifth centuries the Christian Church had divided its allegiance between the great patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Rome (§ 533). In spite of the growing tendency to monarchic organization, no one of these bishops had been able to establish authority over all Christendom; but claim to such supremacy had been put forward by one of them.

The claim took this form: Christ had especially intrusted the government of his Church to Peter; Peter (according to tradition)[1] had founded the first church at Rome; hence the bishops of Rome, as the successors of Peter, held spiritual sway over Christendom.

[1] See a good argument in Ramsey's *Church in the Empire.*

628. Advantages and Events that helped to make this Claim Good. — To support her claim over all the West against her eastern rivals, Rome possessed many advantages in past history, and in the events of the first Christian centuries.

a. From early times the bishops of Rome were readily allowed a certain precedence *in dignity*, even by the other patriarchs, because men so inevitably thought of Rome as the world-capital.[1]

b. The Latin half of the empire, which would most naturally turn to Rome for leadership, contained no other apostolic church, nor even any other great city, to become a possible rival. The other patriarchs were all in the Greek half of the empire — east of the Adriatic (§§ 391, 533).

c. The absence of doctrinal disputes in the West, as compared with the incessant hair-splitting controversies in the more speculative East (§ 534), made it easier for spiritual leadership to maintain itself.

d. A long line of able popes,[2] by their moderation and statesmanship, helped to confirm the place of Rome as the representative of all the West. Not unfrequently, indeed, they were accepted as arbitrators in the disputes between eastern patriarchs.

e. The barbarian invasions strengthened the position of the pope in at least two ways: the decline of the imperial power in the West diminished the danger of interference from Constantinople; and the churches in Spain and Gaul, in their dread of the Arian conquerors, turned to Rome for closer guidance, abandoning any tendency to *national* independence in ecclesiastical matters.

f. Rome's own missionary labors did much to extend her power; in particular, it was through her that the Arian conquerors in the West were finally brought to the orthodox

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[1] The philosopher Hobbes called the Papacy only "the ghost of the Roman Empire, crowned and seated on the grave thereof."

[2] The name Pope (papa) was originally only a term of affectionate respect, applied to any bishop. Special reports: Leo and Gregory the Great.

doctrine, and that the pagans in Teutonic England and in Germany were converted to Christianity. To these last, in particular, Rome was a mother church, to be obeyed implicitly in matters of faith.[1]

629. Rome freed from Eastern Rivals; the "Great Schism." — The peculiar claims of Rome, however, carried no weight *in the East;* and until 650 A.D., even to men of the West, her bishop appeared only one (though the most loved and respected one) among five great patriarchs. But the next century eliminated the other four, so far as western Christendom was concerned. Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Antioch fell to the Saracens in quick succession; and soon afterward remaining Christendom split into rival Latin and Greek churches, grouped respectively around Rome and Constantinople.

The schism, like the political division of the old Roman Empire into East and West, seems to have been based upon fundamental differences in character; certainly it followed the same persistent lines of partition between the Latin and Greek cultures (§ 391).[2] The split had begun to show very early; it was assisted by the political differences of East and West, and by the Teutonic jealousy of the Greek emperor; but the final occasion for actual separation was a religious dispute over the use of images in worship.

This is known as the "iconoclast" (image-breaking) question. A small but influential minority in the Greek Empire had desired to restrict or abolish the use of images, which, they felt, the more ignorant were apt to degrade from symbols into idols. The great reforming emperor, Leo the Isaurian (717–741 A.D.), put himself at the head of the movement, with all his despotic authority, and finally ordered all images removed from the churches.[3] The West in general

[1] Special report: the life and labors of Boniface, "Apostle to the Germans."

[2] Was the division of the Arabian power into rival caliphates (§ 625) affected perhaps by the like differences in civilization?

[3] In the East, Leo and his successors were temporarily successful. The monks and populace resisted them, however, and before the year 800 A.D. the

believed in their use, and in Italy the Pope forbade obedience to the imperial decree. The result was the separation of Christendom into two halves, never since united.

The *Great Schism* left the supremacy of Rome unquestioned in the Latin Church, while other conditions, to be noted in the next section, erected its leadership into a real monarchy, spiritual and temporal, such as was never attained in the Greek Church, where the patriarchs of Constantinople were overshadowed by the imperial will.

B. The Pope becomes a Temporal Sovereign.

630. The Pope as a Civil Officer of the Greek Emperor. — While the Roman bishops were winning this spiritual rule over all the West, they were also becoming temporal princes (or kings) over a small state in Italy. This process begins with the Lombard invasion. In the break-up of Italy (§ 585), the imperial governor (exarch) at Ravenna was cut off from Rome and the strip of territory about it still belonging to the Empire. Now, from the time of Constantine, all bishops had held considerable civil authority; and this new condition left the bishop of Rome the chief imperial lieutenant in his isolated district. At the same time, in the position that he claimed as spiritual head of Christendom, in some matters he called for submission from the emperor himself. Thus his double character of the emperor's servant and the emperor's superior could be easily confused; while the difficulty of effective communication left him in any case very nearly an independent sovereign.

631. This Virtual Independence avowed by Open Rebellion. — But the emperor did not permit this growing independence without a struggle: one pope was dragged from the altar to a dungeon; another died a lonely exile in the Crimea; and only

image-worshipers regained the throne in the person of the Empress Irene. Meantime, however, the question had divided Christendom. The churches of Greece and Russia and the other Slav states of Southeastern Europe still belong to the Greek communion.

a threatened revolt in Italy saved another from a like fate in 701 A.D. This last fact is notable. More and more the Roman population of Italy rallied round the great bishop as champion against the disliked Greek Power. When the Emperor Leo III. (§ 624) tried to reform and extend imperial taxation in Italy, Pope Gregory sanctioned resistance. The imperial decree regarding images, we have noted, met with like reception. Projects were discussed for setting up a new emperor in Italy, or for a confederation of all Italy under the Pope. As the image-worship dispute grew violent, church councils, summoned by Pope Gregory II. (730 A.D.) and Gregory III. (731 A.D.), excommunicated Leo. The emperor sent a fleet and army to seize Gregory and subdue Italy, but a storm wrecked the expedition and the Pope's rebellion succeeded. Subsequent Roman bishops assumed office without imperial sanction,[1] and fifty years later Pope Hadrian made the political separation more apparent by ceasing to date events by the reigns of the emperors.[2]

632. Recognition and Protection of the New Sovereignty by the Franks. — The third step was to secure recognition for the new sovereignty. The Lombard kings in Italy, at war with the emperor, had seized the Exarchate of Ravenna in the north, and were bent upon seizing Rome also, on the ground that it likewise belonged to their enemy the emperor. A Lombard master close at hand would have been more dangerous to the papal claims than a distant Greek master; and the popes appealed to the Franks for aid. It happened that the great Frankish Mayors had need of papal sanction for their plans just then, and so the bargain was struck. The story demands that we return to Frankish history.

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[1] Until this rebellion, the popes, though elected by the clergy and people of Rome, had waited like other bishops for confirmation by the emperor before entering on their office.

[2] Instead, he called a certain day "December 1, of the year 781 under the reign of the Lord Jesus Christ, our God and Redeemer," and so began our method of counting time. He should have made the year 777 (§ 458).

For Further Reading. — Church, 106–110; Carr's *Church and Empire*, ch. xxiv.; Adams' *Civilization*, ch. vi.; Bury, II.; Wells' *Age of Charlemagne* (Epochs of Church History); Emerton; Curteis; and the Church Histories, Catholic and Protestant, named on page 445.

IV. THE FRANKS AND THE PAPACY.

(The Franks from Charles the Hammer to Charles the Great.)

633. The Carolingian Dynasty secures the Throne, with Papal Sanction. — Shortly after the victory at Tours, the "Do-nothing" king died. Charles Martel did not venture, or did not care, to take himself the title of king, but neither did he place any Merovingian upon the throne. Before his death he secured the consent of the nobles to the division of his office between his sons Karlmann and *Pippin*. These young mayors, less secure at first than their victorious father, thought it best to crown a Merovingian prince, in whose name they might govern, like their predecessors. Their first work was to continue the task of their father and grandfather in restoring authority over Aquitaine and Bavaria. Then Karlmann entered a monastery, — as various other princes, English and Lombard, did in this age, — and Pippin began to think of taking to himself the name and dignity, as well as the labors, of royalty. He felt, however, the need of powerful sanction in so establishing a new royal line; and in 750 A.D. he sent an embassy to the Pope to ask "whether this was a good state of things in regard to the kings of the Franks." The Pope, who needed Pippin's aid against Lombard encroachment, replied, "It seems better that he who has the power should be king rather than he who is falsely called so." Thereupon the last Merovingian was sent to a monastery and Pippin assumed the crown.

634. Pippin saves and enlarges the Temporal Power of the Pope. — Just before the death of Charles Martel, the Pope, besieged in Rome by the Lombard king, had sent frequent requests to the Frankish ruler for succor. From the days of Clovis the Franks had maintained friendly relations with the

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Roman bishops, but Martel would not obey this summons. The Lombards were his allies against the Arabs, and his hands were full at home. Pippin, however, now owed more to the Papacy; and when the Lombards attacked Rome again (soon after Pippin's coronation), Pope Stephen set out in person to beg aid at the Frankish court. During this visit he himself reconsecrated Pippin king of the Franks. In return, Pippin made two great expeditions into Italy, winning easy victories over the Lombards. The second time (756 A.D.), he reduced Lombardy to a vassal kingdom, and gave to the Pope the territory that the Lombards had recently seized from the Exarchate of Ravenna.

635. Different Views as to the Nature of the Authority Conferred. — This is the famous "*Donation of Pippin.*" Papal writers hold that the Pope was intended to be wholly sovereign in this territory. Protestant scholars generally maintain, on the other hand, that Pippin had stepped into the place of the Greek emperor, and had simply intrusted to his lieutenant, the Pope, somewhat larger domains than formerly. This view was held also long before the Reformation by the successors of Pippin as rulers of Germany and Italy. Possibly, at the moment, neither party had any consistent theory as to the exact nature of the act. In practice, the Frankish kings and the popes long remained close friends, and it was not until much later (when disputes arose), that a theory of the situation was needed. When that time did come, however, the absence of clear definition of powers in this grant was to entangle well-meaning men on opposite sides in hopeless quarrels for centuries. The papal view at length prevailed. From this Donation there did arise the kingdom of the Papal States — a strip of territory reaching across the peninsula from Rome to Ravenna.[1]

[1] This papal kingdom lasted until 1870, when its last fragment was united to the new-born kingdom of Italy. Many Catholics hope still for its restoration. They believe that the pope cannot be free to direct kingdoms and rulers in *moral* questions as they think he should, unless he is independent

In the attempts to sustain the papal claims there grew up a story of a supposed "Donation of Constantine the Great" in the fourth century. According to this imaginary Donation, the emperor conferred upon the popes wider domains and more extensive privileges. The legend was supported in the ninth century by a curious pious forgery, put forth under the name of the great Bishop Isidore of Spain. These forged *Decretals of Isidore* were accepted as authentic for many centuries.[1]

It is desirable to try to understand that such "forgeries" were not reprehensible in the same degree as they would be now, with our clearer view of the value of historical truth. They are very common in uncritical ages, and usually they portray what their authors believed to be true. These writers made use of facts somewhat in the same way that a historical novelist does now. The development of history has now made such looseness of thinking and of conduct impossible.

For Further Reading. — Emerton, 151–177; Hodgkin's *Charles*, 44–82; Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*, 34–41; Sergeant's *Franks*. Henderson's *Documents* contains the "Donation of Constantine."

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politically. This he can be only if he is himself a sovereign prince. No doubt some feeling of this kind began very early to inspire the popes in their march toward kingship.

[1] Special topic. See especially Milman, I. 94, note; Bury's Gibbon; Cutts' *Constantine;* and references above.

CHAPTER V.

THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE.

(Revival of the Western Empire.)

I. EXPANSION OF THE AREA OF CIVILIZATION.

636. Importance and Character of the Wars of Charles the Great. — In 768 A.D. Pippin, king of the Franks, was succeeded by his son Charles. This prince was to be known in history as Charles the Great (Karl Magnus,[1] Charlemagne). At his accession the Frankish state comprised the same area as in the time of Dagobert; but meantime it had absorbed more of the old Roman culture, and it promised now to make progress possible once more in Western Europe. It was in peril, however, from Mohammedanism on one side, and, yet more, from barbarism on the other; but under the new and vigorous Carolingians the Franks took the aggressive and rolled back the tide of invasion. Charles' long reign (768–814) was filled with incessant border war, oftentimes two or more great campaigns to a season. He stands forth, therefore, as a warlike figure, and, like Caesar and Alexander, he did, in vital respects, extend by arms the area of civilized life. Charles, however, though he

[1] This French form, Charlemagne, has acquired so wide use that it is not well to cast it aside; but the student must not think of Karl the Great as a Frenchman, or even as "king of France." He was king of the Franks; he himself was a pure-blooded German (Austrasian Frank); he had the yellow hair and fair skin of the northern race; his speech was German; his favorite capital was the German Aachen (disguised later under its French name Aix); and in history he was really the predecessor, not so much of the later French kings, as of the German kings and emperors. The form Karl Magnus, sometimes severely criticised, has the sanction of contemporary use, and is suggestive of the mingling of Roman and Teutonic elements in that age.

planned campaigns, rarely took charge of their conduct, and his warfare has little that is striking or romantic. It consisted generally in sending overwhelming forces into the enemy's country to besiege its strongholds and waste its fields. Charles was neither fighter nor general, but rather statesman and ruler. He warred not for glory or gain, but to crush threatening perils before they should become too strong.

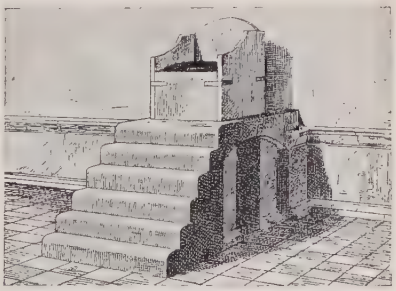
637. The Winning of the Saxon Lands, to the Elbe, 772–804. — The chief struggle was with the heathen Saxons, who were threatening to treat the Frankish state as small bands of them had already treated Britain some three centuries before. That fierce people still held the wilderness between the Rhine and the lower Elbe, and they maintained there a thirty-two-year struggle against all the power of Charles — repeatedly vanquished and baptized,[1] and as often massacring Frankish garrisons and returning to heathen independence. Charles' methods grew more and more stern and cruel. The greatest blot on his fame is the "massacre at Verden" of forty-five hundred leaders of "rebellion" who had been surrendered at his demand. At last even the heroic *Widukind*, the soul of the resistance, despaired, and became a faithful vassal; but the embers of revolt still broke again and again into flame, until Charles finally transported whole Saxon tribes into Gaul, giving their homes to Frankish pioneers.

Whatever we think of the methods or excuses, these wars were to prove the most fruitful of the century. The long pounding of thirty years laid the foundation for modern Germany. Widukind happily failed where Herman had succeeded, and Charles completed the work that Caesar and Augustus began eight centuries before (§§ 437, 472). Now that the Roman world had been Germanized, it was time for Germany to be Romanized. Civilization and Christianity were extended from the Rhine to the Elbe. The district was planted with

[1] Quite in Mohammedan fashion, Charles offered the tribes that submitted a choice between Christian baptism and the sword.

churches, towns, monasteries; and from a barbarian menace, it became a chief agent in winning more lands from savagery. These Saxon campaigns began the armed colonization of the heathen East by the civilized Germans that was to become one of the great marks of the later Middle Ages.

638. Spain, Italy, Bavaria.—Other foes engaged the attention the great king would have preferred to give to reconstruction. The *Saracens* were easily thrust back to the Ebro, so that a strip of north Spain became a Frankish mark.[1] The last vassal *Lombard* king, Desiderius, quarreled with the Pope; and, after fruitless negotiation, Charles marched into Italy, confirmed Pippin's grant to the Pope, sent Desiderius to a monastery, and crowned himself king of the Lombards, at Pavia, with the ancient iron crown of Lombardy. A revolt in *Bavaria* led to the extinction of its line of native dukes, and Bavaria was finally incorporated into the Frankish state.



THRONE OF CHARLEMAGNE, in the cathedral of his capital city Aachen (Aix).

639. Result: the Union of the German Peoples.—Thus, by expansion and consolidation, Visigoth, Lombard, Burgund, Frank, Bavarian, Allemand, Saxon,—all the surviving Germanic peoples, except those in the Scandinavian peninsula and in Britain,—were united into a Christian Romano-Teutonic state.[2] This seems to have been the aim of

[1] The defeat of Charlemagne's rear guard, on the return, by the wild tribesmen of the Pyrenees in the pass of Roncesvalles, gave rise to the legend of the death of the hero Roland in battle with Saracens there. The details are fable, but the Song of Roland was the most famous poem of the early Middle Ages.

[2] The population was largely Roman, of course, but *politically* the different parts of the state were essentially Teutonic. In all its divisions, in Italy and south Gaul, as in Saxon-land, the rule for the most part was in Teutonic hands.

Charlemagne. More than this he did not wish. He might easily have seized more of Spain or the provinces of the Greek Empire in south Italy (and the Empire had given him no little provocation), but with rare moderation he even returned freely some Adriatic provinces that had voluntarily submitted to him. For mere conquest, such realms would have been vastly more attractive than the bleak Saxon-land, but it seems plain that Charles did not choose to incorporate incongruous elements needlessly into his German state. It is notable also that the small Teutonic states outside his realms, in Denmark and in England, recognized some vague overlordship in the ruler of the Teutonic continent.

640. Defensive Wars against the Eastern Slavs; Dependent States. — So, too, his later wars against the heathen tribes of the East were essentially defensive. Beyond the German territory there stretched away indefinitely savage Slavs and Avars, who from time to time hurled themselves against the barriers of civilization, as in old Roman days. But the new vigorous Teutonic race who now championed the cause of civilization attacked barbarism in its own strongholds. Gradually the first line of these peoples beyond the Elbe and Danube (including modern Bohemia and Moravia) were reduced to tributary kingdoms — to serve as buffers against their untamed brethren farther east; but Charles made no attempt really to incorporate these conquests into his Frankish state, or to force Christianity upon them.

II. THE REVIVAL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE WEST.

641. Reasons and Pretexts. — The state ruled by Clovis and Dagobert had been not so much a kingdom as an empire, in extent and character, comprising, as it did, many sub-states and diverse peoples.[1] Charlemagne had given new emphasis to

[1] This is the proper use of the term *empire* as distinguished from kingdom, and this meaning it always had until Napoleon III. obscured it in the popular

this character, and now he strengthened the structure by reviving for it the dignity and the magic name of the Roman Empire. He knew that the mere "king of the Franks" could never sway the minds of Visigoth, Lombard, Bavarian, Saxon, and especially of the Roman populations they dwelt among, as could the "Emperor of the Romans" ruling from the old world-capital.

But there was already a "Roman Emperor" at Constantinople, whose authority in legal theory still extended over all Christendom (§§ 574, 599, and elsewhere). Just at this time, however, Irene, the empress mother, put out the eyes of her son, Constantine VI., and seized the imperial power. To most minds, East and West, the world-throne was vacant; and Charles decided to restore it to its ancient capital in the West.

642. Election and Coronation. — On Christmas day, 800 A.D., Charles was at Rome, whither he had been called once more to protect the Pope from turbulent Italian enemies. During the Christmas service, while the king knelt in prayer, Pope Leo III. placed upon his head a gold crown and saluted him as *Charles Augustus, Emperor of the Romans.* The act was ratified by the enthusiastic acclaim of the multitude; and once more Rome had chosen an emperor.

643. Theory of the Empire.[1] — This act of Leo and Charles was not a partition of imperial duties, as between Diocletian and his colleague, nor a friendly division of territory, as between Arcadius and Honorius (§ 572). It was in theory the restoration of the seat of the one universal Empire to Rome. In fact, it created two rival empires, each calling itself *The* Roman Empire, and looking on the other as a usurpation. Charles is said commonly to have "revived" the Western

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mind by assuming the style of emperor while merely ruler of France (1852–1870). The first Napoleon was really an emperor.

[1] Besides the account in Emerton and Adams, see especially Bryce, 50–58 and 67–71; Sheppard, *Fall of Rome*, 496 ff.; Bury, II.; and Freeman, in *Historical Essays*, First Series (*Holy Roman Empire*).

Empire. This is essentially correct if we look at results, but in theory, and in the speech of men of his day, he was the successor, not of Romulus Augustulus (§ 514), but of Constantine VI., just deposed at Constantinople. In course of time, to be sure, men had to recognize that there were two Empires as there had come to be two branches of the Christian Church, but to the men of the West, *their* Empire, as their Church, remained the only legitimate one.

644. Distinctive Character of the Western Empire. — Neither Empire was really Roman. The Eastern grew more and more Oriental, until it ended in 1453 A.D. when the Turks captured Constantinople. The Western grew more and more Teutonic, until it ended in 1806, before which time its rulers had shrunk into little more than dukes of Austria.[1] Both Empires continued to stand for civilization as against barbarism: the Eastern, however, was henceforth largely passive, and calls for little attention in European history; the active and positive forces were found in the Western. The Eastern Empire warded off from Europe inroads of Asiatic barbarism, and served as a *storehouse* of the old culture. The Western Empire *learned* from the Eastern some of its civilization, and *extended* Christianity and good order in Central Europe.[2]

The new Western Empire, too, while one in theory with the old Empire of Augustus and Constantine the Great, differed from it almost as widely as from the Byzantine Empire. Two distinctions should be especially noted.

a. It was European, and even Teutonic, rather than Mediterranean, both in area and character. Charlemagne and his successors had to be *crowned* in Rome, but the German Rhine, not the Italian Tiber, was the real center of their state. The Greek and Oriental influences were almost wholly excluded, and Roman ideas, so far as they remained, were worked out by rulers of Teutonic blood.

[1] This story belongs to modern history.

[2] Cf. Bury, II. 516.

EUROPE
IN THE TIME OF
CHARLES THE GREAT
814
ROMAN EMPIRE OF THE WEST:
Frankish State before Charlemagne
Charlemagne's Additions
Tributary States
ROMAN EMPIRE OF THE EAST:
MOHAMMEDANS:
Emirate of Cordova
Caliphate of Bagdad
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
MEDITERRANEAN
CALIPHATE
EMIRATE OF CORDOVA
FRANCIA
AUSTRIA
ITALY
SHETLAND IS.
ORKNEY IS.
THE HEBRIDES
IONA
Lindisfarne
Whitby
York
Humber R.
London
Canterbury
Frisians
Saxons
Northmen
Swedes
Danes
R. Eider
Elbe R.
Rhine R.
AACHEN
(Aix-la-Chapelle)
NEUSTRIA
Paris
Verdun
Chalons
Frankfurt
BOHEMIA
Tours
AQUITANIA
St. Gall
The Alps
BAVARIA
BURGUNDY
Geneva
Milan
Venice
Ravenna
Arles
ROME
Lombards
SICILY
Carthage
TUNIS
Tripoli
BALEARIC IS.
CANTABRIA
GASCONY
PASS PONCES VALLES
SPANISH MARCH
Pyrenees
Saragossa
Ebro R.
VALENCIA
Lisbon
Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
Toledo
Seville
CORDOVA
Granada
Cadiz
Guadalquivir R.
Strait of Gibraltar
Tangier
MOROCCO
Longitude West
Longitude

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b. It represented a federation of the Papacy and the imperial power. This began in the coronation and the donation of Pippin, and was confirmed by the Christmas day coronation of Charles. In later times the union was to be expressed in the name, The *Holy* Roman Empire. The empire had its spiritual as well as its temporal head; but the limits of authority were not well defined, and from the resulting dissensions, in large measure, was to come the decline of the imperial structure.

III. REORGANIZATION.

645. Political: Counts and Missi Dominici; Mayfields. — Pippin had begun to replace native and hereditary *Dukes* with *Counts* dependent upon the royal will. Charles extended the practice and made it one of his two chief agencies in strengthening his authority over his wide-lying dominions. But these counts also tended to become local leaders, and to transmit their office and power to their sons. To move them from place to place would have been opposed to all the feeling of the time, and it would have been wasteful of power, especially on the Slav frontier, where the most powerful counts protected the "marches" of the empire. So, to guard against the decentralizing tendency, Charles introduced a new set of officers known as *Missi Dominici*, or king's messengers. The empire was divided into districts, each containing the governments of several counts, and to each such district, each year there was sent a pair of Missi (usually a count and a bishop), to examine the administration and to act, for the year, as the emperor's self, overseeing the work of local counts, correcting injustice, holding popular assemblies, and reporting all to the emperor.[1]

To keep in touch with the popular will, and to find out the needs of all parts of the Frankish kingdom, Charles made use of the old Teutonic assemblies in fall and spring. All freemen of the Franks could attend and speak. Sometimes, espe-

[1] Cf. § 75. Read Emerton, 220, 221, and Adams, 160–162.

cially when war was to be debated, the "Mayfield" gathering comprised the bulk of the adult males of the Frank nation. At other times it was made up almost wholly of the greater nobles and churchmen. The assembly was not in any sense a legislature. Legislation was in the hands of the king; and, at most, the assemblies could only bring to bear upon him the weight of public opinion.

646. Relations to the Church. — In the lifetime of Charles himself, the popes secured little of the control they were afterward to exercise in the Empire. Charles promulgated religious regulations through these popular assemblies. He appointed all bishops or controlled their appointment, and heard appeals from the bishops and archbishops. He also called special church councils, at which he presided in person; the decrees he sanctioned himself, and in them, in one case at least,[1] he declared doctrines false that had just been approved by the Pope.

647. Schools. — In that age, the chief foe of a great reformer like Charlemagne, was the dense ignorance even of the higher classes. Charles did much to correct this. In particular he secured more learned men for the clergy. Monastic and episcopal schools were opened throughout the empire; and for the young nobles of the court, Charles established the famous School of the Palace. For teachers, learned men were sought out in north Italy, where the Roman culture best survived; and even from England the scholar *Alcuin* came to direct the Palace School.

IV. SUMMARY.

648. The Great Powers in 800 A.D. — Thus at the close of Ancient History the world is divided between four Great Powers — the two Christian Empires and the two rival Mohammedan Caliphates.[2]

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[1] Special topic: the council of Frankfort, 794 A.D.

[2] The Caliph Haroun al Raschid at Bagdad, the hero of the *Arabian Nights*,

The Christian states were in some sense rivals; each was bitterly hostile to its Mohammedan neighbor; and each in consequence was to some degree on friendly terms with the Mohammedan power bordering the other. The only one of the four states that was to stand finally for progress was the Western Empire, with its fringes in the Teutonic states of Denmark and England.

649. The Place of Charlemagne in History. — Charles the Great seemed to have restored order to Europe. It is true he was ahead of his age, and, after his death, his great design in many respects broke to pieces; but enough survived so that his long reign of nearly fifty years closes Ancient History and begins a new era. Charles himself is the greatest man of Europe for a thousand years — from the fifth to the fifteenth century. He stands for four great movements: the expansion of civilization in Western Europe and the creation of one great Romano-Teutonic state; the revival of the Roman Empire in the West, as the outward form of this state; organization and reconstruction in Church and State; and a revival of learning. In all these, Charles built upon the work of his father and grandfather, but his own genius decided the peculiar character of the result. In the seventh century there were four great forces contending for Western Europe, — the Greek Empire, the Saracens, the Franks, and the Papacy. By the year 800, the Carolingians had excluded two and had fused the other two into the revived Roman Empire.

For centuries more, this Roman Empire was to be the most important institution in Europe.

It embodied the Roman idea of universal centralized authority, and it served to counteract the Teutonic over-tendency to individualism and separation. Barbarism and anarchy were again to break in after the death of the great Charles; nay,

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was Charlemagne's contemporary. In an exchange of courtesies, the Saracen sent to the Frankish king a white elephant and a curious water clock that struck the hours.

even some of his own institutions, like the growing feudalism, were instinct with the Teutonic spirit of decentralization and political disorder; but the imperial idea to which he had given new life and new meaning was to be for ages the inspiration and rallying point of the best minds as they strove against these anarchic forces in behalf of order, peace, and progress.

For Further Reading. — Good brief treatments in Emerton, 180–235; Adams, 154–169; and Church, 110–137. Einhard's contemporary *Life of Charlemagne* is published in Harper's Half-Hour Series (15 cents). For longer modern studies, Hodgkin's *Charles the Great*, Mombert's *Charles the Great*, Cutt's *Charlemagne*, Wells' *Age of Charlemagne* (Epochs of Church History), Mullinger's *Schools of Charles the Great*, West's *Alcuin*, Sergeant's *Franks*, Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*.

EXERCISES ON PART VI.

1. Topical and "catchword" reviews: (*a*) *The Church* (see Part V. also); (*b*) *The Franks;* (*c*) *The Empire.*

2. *Dates* to be added for events subsequent to the Teutonic invasions:

378 A.D.	476 A.D.	732 A.D.
410	622	800

What events connected with the invasions can the student locate, in order, between 378 and 476? What events in the history of the empire between 476 and 732? (Similar tests for other periods.)

3. *Battles.* Add five to previous lists (see p. 246).

4. *Lists of questions by the class*, as on earlier Parts or Chapters. (The following are offered as suggestive on this Part of the History: Name the first Carolingian king. Name a battle fought by Clovis. Name the two diverse civilizations embraced within the empire in the third century. What became of the Visigoths? Of the Ostrogoths? Who was the great opponent of Arius? What principle underlies all the forms of the Ordeal? Name another method of proof employed by the Germans, besides the Ordeal.)

APPENDIX.

I. TABLE OF EVENTS AND DATES.[1]

THE VARIOUS STATES OF THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD.

B.C.	
5000 or 4500 . .	Organized states appear in the lower valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates.
3800 (about) . .	Sargon the Elder.
2800 (about) . .	The political center in Egypt moves up the river from Memphis to Thebes.
2700	Approximate date of a voluminous Chaldean literature (§ 45).
2500–1500 . . .	The Mycenaean civilization on the coasts and islands of the Aegean (§ 87). Schliemann's Troy destroyed, 2500 B.C.
2400 (about) . .	The political center in Chaldea moves up the river to Babylon.
2234	Beginning of the recorded astronomical observations at Babylon, found there by Alexander nineteen hundred years later (§ 45).
2000 (about) . .	Chaldean rule already extended over Syria.
	The Hyksos conquest of Egypt.
	Abraham.
1800 (about) . .	Beginning of the Assyrian state.
	The Hebrews enter Egypt.
1600 (about) . .	Expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt.
	Thûtmosis III. of Egypt conquers Asia to the Tigris.
	Phoenician maritime supremacy in the Aegean.

[1] The student should have access to Ploetz' *Epitome of Universal History* (Houghton, Mifflin and Co.). Chief reliance has been placed upon that work in preparing these tables. In the earlier centuries, several events that come near together are sometimes placed under one date, — the dates for these periods being only approximations, at best.

B.C.	
1380 (about)	Rameses II.
1320 (about)	The Libyan attack upon Egypt. The Hebrew Exodus.
	Assyria attains a brief supremacy over Chaldea.
	Rise of the Hittite Empire in Syria.
	The Achaeans conquer Southern Greece from the Ionic Pelasgians (§ 88).
1280 (about)	The Hebrews enter Palestine.
1200 or 1100	The Trojan War (?). Homer's Troy destroyed.
	Perfection of the Phoenician alphabet. Tyre supreme in Phoenicia.
	Glory of the First Assyrian Empire under Tiglath-Pileser I.
1085 (?)	Kingdom of the Hebrews under Saul.
1055 (?)	David, king of the Hebrews.
1015–975 (?)	Rule of Solomon.
1000 (?)	Zoroaster.
	Early Homeric poems.
	The Dorian invasion.
	Kingship at Athens limited after the death of Codrus.
1000–900	Greek colonization of the islands of the Aegean and the Asiatic coast.
975 (?)	The Hebrew state divided into the kingdoms of Judah and Israel.
850 (?)	Carthage founded.
800–600	Wider Greek colonization: coasts of the Black Sea, Magna Graecia, Thrace, and elsewhere.
776	**First recorded Olympiad.** (Probably not a contemporary record, but supplied or invented later.)
753	Legendary date for the founding of Rome.
752	Life archons at Athens give way to ten-year archons.
745	Second Assyrian Empire; Tiglath-Pileser II.
730	Egypt conquered by Ethiopia.
722	Sargon II. carries the Ten Tribes of Israel into the Assyrian captivity.
700	King Pheidon at Argos.
682	Nine annual archons at Athens replace the earlier and longer-termed archons.
672	Egypt conquered by Assyria.
653	Egyptian revolt; independence under Psammetichus.
650–500	The age of the Greek lyric poets; chief centers in Ionia.

B.C.	
640	Revolt of the Medes against Assyria.
632	Scythian irruption.
625 (?)	The new Babylonian Empire.
624	Archonship of Draco at Athens.
612	Cylon's insurrection at Athens.
610–595	Neco; circumnavigation of Africa.
610 (about)	Solon captures Salamis.
606	Destruction of Nineveh.
604–561	Nebuchadnezzar.
594–593	**Archonship of Solon.**
586	Nebuchadnezzar captures Jerusalem and carries the Jews into the Babylonian captivity.
560	Croesus establishes Lydia as a great power.
560–527	Peisistratus at Athens.
558	Founding of the Persian Empire.
558–529	Cyrus the Great.
545	Cyrus begins to conquer the Greeks of Asia Minor.
538	Babylon becomes a Persian province.
537	The Jews sent back to Palestine by Cyrus.
525	Egypt becomes a Persian province.
522–485	Darius I. of Persia.
522–448	Pindar.

GREECE.		ROME.	
B.C.		B.C.	
510	**Expulsion of the Peisistratidae.**	**510**	**Expulsion of the Tarquins.**
509	Constitution of Cleisthenes.		
500–494	The Ionic revolt.	494	First secession of the Plebs.
492–479	**Attack by Persia and Carthage.**	493	First plebeian tribunes.
492	First Persian invasion; Mount Athos.		
490	**Marathon.**	486	Agrarian proposal of Spurius Cassius.
483	Ostracism of Aristeides; adoption of Themistocles' naval policy.		
480	Thermopylae, Artemisium, Salamis, Himera.		

GREECE (*continued*).		ROME (*continued*).	
B.C.		B.C.	
479 . . .	Plataea, Mycale.		
477 . . .	Confederacy of Delos organized.		
472 . . .	Themistocles ostracized.		
469 . . .	Revolt of Naxos.		
468 . . .	Eurymedon.		
462 . . .	Cimon leads an Athenian force to aid Sparta against her helots.	462 . . .	Proposal of Terentillius for written laws.
461 . . .	Rupture between Sparta and Athens; ostracism of Cimon.		
461–429 .	Leadership of Pericles.		
459 . . .	The Athenian expedition to Egypt to aid a revolt against Persia.		
458 . . .	The Long Walls at Athens.		
457 . . .	Tanagra.		
456 . . .	Aegina conquered by Athens.		
454 . . .	Athenian disaster in Egypt.	451–449 .	**The Decemvirs**; the twelve tables; second secession of the plebs; Valerian-Horatian Laws.
446 . . .	Loss of Boeotia by Athens; loss of Megaris.		
445 . . .	Thirty Years' Truce between Athens and Sparta.	445 . . .	Intermarriage between the orders legalized.
		444 . . .	Consular tribunes.
		443 . . .	Censorship established.
438 . . .	The Parthenon completed.		
431–404 .	**Peloponnesian War.**		
429 . . .	Death of Pericles.		
421 . . .	Peace of Nicias.		
415–413 .	The Sicilian expedition.		
411 . . .	The "Four Hundred" at Athens.	409 . . .	Plebeians attain the quaestorship.

GREECE (*continued*).		ROME (*continued*).	
B.C.		B.C.	
406 . . .	Arginusae.		
405 . . .	**Aegospotami.**		
404 . . .	Surrender of Athens; the thirty tyrants.		
404–371 .	Supremacy of Sparta.		
403 . . .	Thrasybulus frees Athens.		
401 . . .	Cyrus the Younger and the Ten Thousand Greeks.	400 . . .	Plebeians attain the consular tribuneship.
399 . . .	**Execution of Socrates.**		
396 . . .	Agesilaus invades Asia.		
395–387 .	The Corinthian War.		
394 . . .	Cnidus.		
393 . . .	Athens' Long Walls rebuilt.		
390 . . .	Iphicrates' peltasts destroy a Spartan battalion.	**390 . . .**	**Rome sacked by the Gauls.**
387 . . .	Peace of Antalcidas.	387 . . .	The Tribes increased to twenty-five.
383–379 .	Sparta crushes the Chalcidic Confederacy.		
377 . . .	New Athenian League.		
371 . . .	**Leuctra.**	**367 . . .**	**The Licinian Laws.**
371–362 .	Theban leadership.	366 . . .	Plebeians attain the consulship; praetorship established.
371 . . .	Megalopolis.		
362 . . .	Battle of Mantinea; death of Epaminondas.		
359–336 .	Philip, king of Macedon.	358 . . .	The Tribes increased to twenty-seven.
		356 . . .	Plebeians attain the dictatorship.
351 . . .	First Philippic of Demosthenes.	351 . . .	Plebeians attain the censorship.
348 . . .	Death of Plato.		
345–337 .	Timoleon the Liberator.	343–341 .	First Samnite War.

GREECE (*continued*).		ROME (*continued*).	
B.C.		B.C.	
338 . . .	**Chaeronea.**	**340–338** .	**The Latin War.**
		337 . . .	The plebeians attain the praetorship.
336–323 .	**Rule of Alexander the Great.**		
334 . . .	The Granicus.		
333 . . .	Issus.		
332 . . .	Siege of Tyre; Alexandria founded.	332 . . .	The Tribes increased to twenty-nine.
331 . . .	Arbela.		
325 . . .	Expedition of Nearchus.	326–304 .	Second Samnite War.
323 . . .	Alexander's death.		
323–276 .	Wars of the Succession.		
322 . . .	Death of Aristotle.	321 . . .	Caudine Forks.
		312 . . .	Appius Claudius, censor.
301 . . .	**Issus.**	300 . . .	Plebeians admitted to the colleges of augurs and pontiffs.
		299 . . .	The Tribes reach the number of thirty-three.
		298–290 .	Third Samnite War.
		287 . . .	Hortensian Law.
285–247 .	Ptolemy Philadelphus in Egypt.		
280 . . .	The Achaean League.	**280–275** .	**War between Rome and Pyrrhus; Rome absorbs Greek Italy.**
278 . . .	The Gallic invasion.		
		275 . . .	Beneventum.
		266 . . .	Conquest of the Gauls to the Rubicon.
		264–241 .	First Punic War; most of Sicily becomes Roman.
245 . . .	Aratus, general of the Achaean League.		
241 . . .	Agis at Sparta; failure and death.	241–238 .	The Mercenary War in Africa; Sardinia and Corsica become Roman.

GREECE (*continued*).

B.C.	
235 . . .	Struggle between the League and Sparta; Cleomenes' reforms at Sparta.
221 . . .	Cleomenes crushed by Macedon and the League.
220 . . .	Marked decline in the Graeco-oriental kingdoms.

ROME (*continued*).

B.C.	
225–222 .	The Gallic War; Cisalpine Gaul becomes Roman.

ROME.

[From 220 B.C. the rest of the world is drawn rapidly into the stream of Roman development.]

218–201 . **Second Punic War**; Spain a Roman province.
216 . . . Cannae.
215–205 . First Macedonian War.
212 . . . Capture of Syracuse; all Sicily becomes Roman.
207 . . . Battle of the Metaurus.
202 . . . **Zama**.
200–196 . Second Macedonian War.
197 . . . Cynoscephalæ; Macedonia a dependent ally.
192–189 . War with Syria.
189 . . . Magnesia; Syria a dependent ally.
171–167 . Third Macedonian War.
168 . . . Pydna.
167–130 . The Jews, under the Maccabees, become independent of Syria.
149–146 . Third Punic War.
146 . . . **Destruction of Carthage and Corinth**; **Macedonia and Africa become Roman provinces**; Greece dependent.
137–132 . First Slave War in Sicily.
133 . . . The Province of Asia organized.
133 . . . **Tiberius Gracchus, tribune.**
123–122 . Caius Gracchus, tribune.
112–106 . The Jugurthine War.
102 . . . **Aquae Sextiae**.
91–88 . . The Social War.
88 . . . Sulpicius, tribune; Sulla masters Rome.

B.C.

88–84 . . First Mithridatic War.
87 . . . Cinna and Marius.
83–82 . . Civil War between Sulla and the democrats.
83–81 . . Second Mithridatic War.
82–79 . . Sulla, dictator.
76 . . . Pompey goes to Spain against Sertorius.
74–63 . . Third Mithridatic War.
73–71 . . Spartacus' rising.
70 . . . Pompey and Crassus, consuls.
67–60 . . Pompey's special commissions against the Cilician pirates and against Mithridates.
63 . . . Pompey makes the Jews a tributary state.
63 . . . Cicero, consul; Catiline's conspiracy.
60–53 . . The First Triumvirate.
59 . . . Caesar's consulship.
58–50 . . Caesar's conquest of Gaul.
49 . . . Caesar's invasion of Britain.
49–45 . . Civil war between Caesar and the oligarchic "Republicans."
48 . . . Pharsalus.
46 . . . Thapsus.
45 . . . Munda.
44 . . . Caesar assassinated.
43–31 . . Second Triumvirate.
42 . . . Philippi.
31 . . . Actium.
27 B.C.–14 A.D. Augustus, emperor.

[For the reigns of the emperors to 476 A.D., see §§ 458–461, 516–519, and 572–573.]

A.D.

9 . . . Hermann's victory over Varus in the Teutoberg forest.
43 . . . Beginning of the conquest of Britain.
69 . . . The year of anarchy after the death of Nero.
70 . . . Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus.
79 . . . Destruction of Pompeii by an eruption of Vesuvius.
85 . . . Conquest of Britain completed by Agricola.
101–106 . Conquest of Dacia by Trajan.
161–180 . Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, emperor.
212 . . . All freemen in the empire become Roman citizens.
226 . . . Rise of the new Persian Empire.
272 . . . Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, conquered by Aurelian.

A.D.

284 . . . **Reorganization by Diocletian.**
312 . . . Edict of Milan by Constantine.
325 . . . Council of Nicaea.
357 . . . Julian repulses the Alemanni.
376 . . . **The Visigoths admitted into the Empire.**
378 . . . Adrianople.
402 . . . Alaric invades Italy.
406 . . . Vandals invade Gaul and Spain.
410 . . . **Alaric sacks Rome.**
414–419 . Visigoths settle in Spain.
429 . . . Vandals invade Africa.
449 . . . **Saxons (Jutes) invade Britain.**
451 . . . **Attila repulsed at Châlons.**
455 . . . Rome sacked by the Vandals.
476 . . . **Odoacer deposes Romulus Augustulus.**

TEUTONIC AND ROMAN EUROPE.

486 . . . Clovis at Soissons.
489–493 . Theodoric conquers Odoacer.
493–553 . Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy.
496 . . . Clovis at Strassburg; accepts Catholic Christianity.
527–565 . Justinian I., emperor.
533–553 . Belisarius and Narses reconquer Italy for the empire.
568 . . . The Lombards enter Italy.
590 . . . Gregory the Great becomes Pope.
610–641 . Heraclius, emperor, saves Europe from the Persians.
622 . . . **The Mohammedan Hegira.**
628–638 . Dagobert.
687 . . . Battle of Testry.
711 . . . The Saracens enter Spain.
717 . . . **Leo III., at Constantinople, repulses the main Saracenic invasion of Europe.**
732 . . . **Charles the Hammerer repulses the Spanish Mohammedans at Tours.**
751 . . . Pippin, king of the Franks.
768 . . . Karl and Karlomann succeed Pippin.
771 . . . Karl (Charlemagne) sole king of the Franks.
797 . . . Irene seizes the imperial throne at Constantinople.
800 . . . **Charlemagne crowned emperor at Rome.**
814 . . . Death of Charlemagne.

II. A CLASSIFIED BIBLIOGRAPHY.[1]

The following works are classified, first by subject, according to the general treatment in this text-book; and then, under each subject, in two groups. In the judgment of the writer, all high school libraries should contain Group I. under each division, or an equivalent; and large high schools may, with advantage, possess Group II. also. A reduction of from twenty to thirty per cent from the list price can usually be obtained. For a discussion of the value of the principal works, it is well to consult Charles Kendall Adams' *Manual of Historical Literature* (Harpers).

Works marked with a * should be present in more than one copy.

When a book belongs to a series, the name of the series, in quotation marks, is given in a parenthesis after the title. In the case of translations, the translator's name is sometimes given after the title, in parenthesis.

PRIMITIVE SOCIETY; RACE. (See Introduction.)

Group I.

Brinton (D. G.), *The American Race.* $2.00. New York . 1891.
Chaillu (P. B.), *The Viking Age.* $7.50. Scribners . . 1889.
Dodge (R. J.), *Our Wild Indians.* $2.50. Hartford . . . 1882.
Grinnell (George B.), *The Indians of To-day.* $5.00. Chicago 1900.
Hoernis (Morris), *Primitive Man.* $0.40. "Temple Primers." Dent & Co., London . . . . . 1901.
Keary (C. F.), *The Dawn of History.* $1.25. Scribners . . 1895.
Mason (O. T.), *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture.* $1.75. Appleton . . . . . 1894.
Sergi (G.), *The Mediterranean Race.* $1.00. Scribners . . 1901.

[1] The following lists do not include all the works referred to in the text, because some there mentioned contain only a few pages suitable for students in secondary schools.

Group II.

Gomme (G. L.), *Ethnology and Folklore.* $.75. London . . 1892.
Lang (Andrew), *Custom and Myth.* $1.50. Longmans . . 1885.
—— *Myth, Ritual, and Religion.* 2 vols. $4.00. Longmans . 1887.
Ripley (W. Z.), *The Races of Europe.* 2 vols. $5.00. Appleton 1899.
Spencer (Herbert), *Ceremonial Institutions.* $1.25. Appleton 1880.
Taylor (Isaac), *Origin of the Aryans.* $1.00. London . . 1892.
Tyler (E. B.), *The Early History of Mankind.* $3.50. Holt . 1870.

ORIENTAL HISTORY. (See Part I.)

Group I.

Hosmer (J. K.), *The Jews* ("Nations"). $1.25. Putnams . 1885.
Maspero, *Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria.* $1.50. Appleton 1892.
—— *Egyptian Archaeology.* $3.00. London . . . . . 1889.
These two volumes last-named can be spared, perhaps, if the next and more valuable work is present.
—— *Dawn of Civilization.* $7.50. Appleton . . . . . 1896.
The first of three large volumes dealing with Oriental history; it brings the story down to about 1600 B.C. The two other works, as less essential, are given in Group II.
Petrie (W. M. F.), *History of Egypt.* 2 vols. $3.00. London . 1896.
Records of the Past (edited by Sayce). 6 vols. $6.00. London.
Translations of inscriptions, with comments. . . . 1888–1892.
Sayce (A. H.), *Assyria: Its Princes, Priests, and People.* $1.00. 1890.
—— *Social Life among the Assyrians and Babylonians.* $1.00 . 1893.
—— *Fresh Light from Ancient Monuments.* $1.00. . . . 1883.
All three published by The Religious Tract Society, London.
—— *Babylonians and Assyrians.* $1.50. Scribners . . . 1889.
—— *Early History of the Hebrews.* $2.00. Macmillan. . . 1897.

Group II.

Hibbert Lectures (*The*) for 1892. $3.00. Scribners.
Layard (A. H.), *Nineveh and Babylon.* $1.50. Barnes & Co., New York . . . . . 1856.
McCurdy (J. F.), *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments.* 3 vols. $6.00. Macmillan . . . . . 1901.

MASPERO, *Struggle of the Nations.* $7.50. Appleton . . . 1897.
This follows *The Dawn of Civilization*, mentioned above, to 850 B.C.

—— *Passing of the Empires.* $7.50. Appleton . . . . 1899.
This continues the story of the preceding volume to the Greek period.

MILNER (SIR ALFRED), *England in Egypt.* $2.00. London . 1894.
An excellent work, treating of modern conditions.

PETRIE (W. M. F.), *Ten Years Digging in Egypt.* $1.25. London 1892.

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RAWLINSON (GEORGE), *Ancient Empires.* 3 vols. $7.50. Boston 1870.

—— *Ancient Egypt.* 2 vols. $5.00. Boston . . . . 1882.

ROGERS, *History of Babylonia and Assyria.* 2 vols. $3.00. Eaton & Maine . . . . . 1901.

SAYCE (A. H.), *Ancient Empires.* $1.50. Macmillan . . 1884.

GREEK HISTORY. (See Parts II. and III.)

GROUP I.

Sources.

* ARISTOTLE, *On the Constitution of Athens* (Kenyon). $1.10. Macmillan.

* FLING, *Studies in European History* (Selections from Sources, Greek and Roman History). $0.50. Ainsworth & Co., Chicago.

HERODOTUS (translated by Macaulay). 2 vols. $4.50. Macmillan.

* HOMER, *Iliad* (Lang, Leaf, and Meyers). $1.50. Macmillan.

* —— *Odyssey* (Butcher and Lang). $1.50. Macmillan.

PLUTARCH, *Lives* (Stewart and Long). 4 vols. $8.00. Macmillan.

POLYBIUS, *History* (Schuckburgh). 2 vols. $6.00. Macmillan.

THUCYDIDES, *History of the Peloponnesian War* (Jowett). 2 vols. $6.00. Boston.

XENOPHON, *Works* (Dakyns). Vols. I.–III. $7.50. Macmillan.

Cheaper translations can be found, of course, as in Harper's Classical Library, but the editions named above are the most desirable. The translations named in this bibliography have been followed, as a rule, in the quotations in the text.

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* COX (G. W.), *Greeks and Persians* ("Epochs"). $1.00. Scribners 1876.

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CURTEIS (A. M.), *Rise of the Macedonian Empire* ("Epochs"). $1.00. Scribners . . . . . 1887.

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GARDNER (P.), *New Chapters in Greek History.* $3.00. Putnams 1892.

GRANT (A. J.), *Greece in the Age of Pericles.* $1.25. Scribners 1893.

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JEBB (R. C.), *Greek Literature* ("Primers"). $.35. Macmillan 1878.

* MAHAFFY (J. P.), *Survey of Greek Civilization.* $1.00. Flood & Vincent, Meadville, Pa. . . . . 1896.

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MURRAY, *Handbook of Greek Archaeology.* $6.00. Scribners . 1892.

TARBELL (F. B.), *History of Greek Art.* $1.00. Chautauqua Series 1896.

* WHEELER (BENJAMIN IDE), *Alexander the Great* ("Heroes"). $1.50. Putnams . . . . . 1900.

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BOTSFORD (GEORGE W.), *The Athenian Constitution.* $1.50. Macmillan . . . . . 1893.

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FOWLER (W. W.), *The City State of the Greeks and Romans.* $1.00. Macmillan . . . . . 1893.

FREEMAN (E. A.), *Historical Geography of Europe.* 2 vols. $5.00. Macmillan . . . . . 1882.

—— *Story of Sicily* ("Nations"). $1.25. Putnams . . . 1892.

—— *History of Federal Government.* $3.50. Macmillan . . 1863.

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TSOUNTAS AND MANATT, *Mycenaean Age.* $5.00. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. . . . . 1896.

WHIBLEY (L.), *Greek Oligarchies.* $1.00. Macmillan . . 1896.

—— *Political Parties at Athens in the Peloponnesian War.* $1.00. Macmillan . . . . . 1889.

WILSON (WOODROW), *The State* (revised edition). $2.00. Heath & Co. . . . . 1898.

The following Greek writers are desirable also: —

AESCHYLUS (translated by Plumptre). $1.50. Routledge, New York.

ARISTOPHANES (Select Plays, translated by Frere). $0.40 each. Routledge, New York.

DEMOSTHENES, *Orations* (Kennedy). 5 vols. $5.00. Macmillan.
EURIPIDES, *Works* (Coleridge). 7 vols. $0.30 each. Macmillan.
PLATO, *Dialogues* (Jowett). 4 vols. $8.00. Scribners.
SOPHOCLES, *Works* (Coleridge). 7 vols. $0.30 each. Macmillan.

ROMAN HISTORY. (See Parts IV. and V.)

GROUP I.

From the preceding list (Group I.) the works of Coulanges, Fling, Fowler, Freeman, Polybius, Wilson.

Sources.

* APPIAN (translated by White). 2 vols. $3.00. Macmillan.
AURELIUS (MARCUS A. ANTONINUS), *Thoughts* (translated by Long). $1.00. Macmillan.
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* TACITUS. 2 vols. $3.50. Macmillan.

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* ADAMS (G. B.), *Civilization during the Middle Ages.* $2.50. Scribners . . . . . 1894.
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Fisher (G. P.), *History of the Christian Church*. $3.00. Scribners 1888.
* Fowler (Warde-), *Caesar* ("Heroes"). $1.50. Putnams . 1891.
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* How and Leigh, *History of Rome to the Death of Caesar*. $2.00. Longmans . . . . . 1896.
Probably the best single volume.
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* Ihne (Wilhelm), *Early Rome* ("Epochs"). $1.00. Scribners. 1886.
Inge (W. R.), *Society in Rome under the Caesars*. $1.25. Scribners . . . . . 1888.
Kingsley (Charles), *The Hermits*. $1.25. Macmillan 1868 and 1880.
Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*. $4.00. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. . . . . 1898.
Merivale (C.), *Triumvirates* ("Epochs"). $1.00. Scribners 1887.
Mommsen (Theodor), *History of Rome*. 5 vols. $10.00. Scribners . . . . . 1868–1885.
Morris, *Hannibal* ("Heroes"). $1.50. Putnams . . . 1897.
* Pelham (H. F.), *Outlines of Roman History*. $1.75. Putnams 1893.
A single volume covering the whole period to 476 A.D., by a great scholar and teacher.
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Smith (R. B.), *Rome and Carthage* ("Epochs"). $1.00. Scribners 1897.

TIGHE (AMBROSE), *Development of the Roman Constitution* ("Primers"). $.35. American Book Co. . . . 1886.
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ALZOG, *Church History.* 3 vols. $10.50. Robert Clark & Co. 1880.
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BOISSIER. *Rome and Pompeii.* $2.50. Putnams . . . 1890.
CHURCH (A. J.), *Carthage* ("Nations"). $1.25. Putnams . 1887.
CRUTTWELL (C. T.), *Roman Literature.* $2.50. Scribners. . 1890.
CUTTS (E. L.), *Constantine the Great.* $1.00. London . . 1881.
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RENAN (E.), *Influence of Rome on Christianity.* $1.50. Scribners 1888.
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* Henderson (E. F.), *Historical Documents of the Middle Ages,* $1.50. London . . . . . 1892.
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